THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN A TRUST-BUILDING MODEL BETWEEN POLICE AND COMMUNITIES IN THE ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY, SOUTH AFRICA

by

Mbekezeli Comfort Mkhize

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Supervisor: Dr Willem Driesse Erasmus
Co-Supervisor: Dr Kula Ishmael Theletsane

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis, I declare that the entirety of the work contained herein is my own original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless explicitly otherwise stated), and that I have not previously, either in its entirety or in part, submitted this thesis for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The trust between the police and communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality has conceivably diminished, thereby creating infertile grounds for the implementation of crime prevention strategies and collaborative efforts. In response, this study employed social capital as a trust-building model between the police and communities. While social capital solves social problems through established collaborations and partnerships, a knowledge gap exists in the South African context since not many studies have paid attention particularly to improving police-community relations. In bridging this knowledge gap, this study employed a mixed-methods approach to collect data. To operationalise the approach, structured questionnaires with closed-ended questions were administered to 150 participants. Two focus group interviews were conducted with police officials and Community Policing Forum (CPF) members respectively. Twelve personal in-depth interviews were conducted with traditional and political leaders. Existing literature was used to augment the interviews. Quantitative data were analysed through the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), while qualitative data were analysed by means of the content analysis method. The social network theory, social disorganisation theory, and contingency theory were employed to explain the relationships between the police and communities.

The key findings reveal that social capital is strong at the level of friends, neighbours, and relatives; however, it is weak when one transcends this level and reaches the level of institutions (especially the police) and how they cooperate with the community. There are challenges that complicate the relationships between the stakeholders. The findings also reveal that the CPF acts as a buffer between the police and the community, but it is unable to function effectively because it is politically aligned, non-functional, and is undermined by uncooperative police officials. There are ongoing power struggles between police officials and CPF members. The findings show that in light of these power struggles, traditional leadership plays a central role in terms of building trust between the police, the CPF, and the community. This is because traditional leadership is seen as impartial as opposed to other role players in the community. As a consequence, this study developed a proposed social capital model

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that is context specific and anchored on traditional leadership as a pathway to building trust between the police, the CPF, and the community.

This study recommends that there should be a mutually beneficial (or synergistic/collaborative) relationship between all the stakeholders that are involved in ensuring safety and security in communities. The study recommends that all stakeholders should undergo training in order to learn how to establish effective collaborative relationships or partnerships. In order to become a sustainable or effective bridge between the police and communities, CPF members should undergo training that involves confidence building, character building, and emotional intelligence. CPF members should be screened before they are elected. Because this study was based in a semi-rural area, a larger study (using a comparative analysis of urban and rural settings) is suggested for future research.

Keywords: Social Capital, Trust, Trust-building, Community, Community Policing, Crime Prevention, Community Policing Forums, Police Officials, Traditional Leadership, Post-apartheid South Africa

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OPSOMMING

Die vertrouensverhouding tussen die polisie en gemeenskappe in die eThekwini Metropolitaanse Munisipaliteit het merkbaar skade gely, sodoende ook enige kans vir die implementering van misdaadvoorkomingstrategieë en samewerkingspogings. In reaksie hierop stel hierdie studie sosiale kapitaal voor as die hoofbestanddeel van ’n gesonde vertrouensverhouding tussen die polisie en die breë gemeenskap. Alhoewel sosiale kapitaal normaalweg sosiale kwessies deur middel van gevestigde samewerkingsooreenkomste en -vennootskappe oplos, bestaan daar ’n kennisgaping in terme van studies wat onderneem is in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks in die veld van die verbetering van polisie-gemeenskapsverhoudinge in besonder. Om hierdie kennisgaping te vul, is met die huidige studie ’n gemengde-metode-benadering tot die insameling van data gevolg. Om hierdie benadering te operasionaliseer, is gestruktureerde, geslote vraelyste aan 150 deelnemers uitgedeel. Twee fokusgroeponderhoude is ook met polisiebeamptes en lede van die Gemeenskapspolisiëringsforum (GPF) onderskeidelik gevoer. Twaalf persoonlike, indiepte-onderhoude is ook met tradisionele en politieke leiers gevoer. Onderhoude is gerugsteun deur bestaande literatuur. Kwantitatiewe data is ontleed deur middel van die Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), terwyl kwalitatiewe data inhoudelik ontleed is. Die sosiale netwerkteorie, sosiale disorganisasieteorie, en gebeurlikheidsteorie is toegepas om die verwantskap tussen die polisie en die gemeenskap te verklaar.

Die sleutelbevindinge is dat sosiale kapitaal prominent is op die vlakke van vriende, bure, en familielede. Dit is egter swak wanneer van hierdie vlakke na die vlak van instellings beweeg word (veral betrekkende die polisiediens) en hoe hulle met die gemeenskap saamwerk. Die studie het ook bevind dat die GPF as ’n buffer tussen die polisie en die gemeenskap dien, dat dit nie in staat is om doeltreffend te funksioneer nie weens politieke invloed, dat dit wanfunksioneel is, en dat dit deur teensinnige polisiebeamptes ondermyn word. Verder is daar voortslepende magstryde tussen polisiebeamptes en GPF-lede. As gevolg van hierdie magstryde speel tradisionele leiers ’n kernrol in die bou van ’n vertrouensverhouding tussen die polisie, die GPF, en die gemeenskap. Die rede is dat tradisionele leiers as meer onpartydig as enige van die ander rolspelers in die gemeenskap beskou word. Gevolglik het hierdie studie

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’n sosiale kapitaalmodel ontwikkel wat konteksgebonde en geanker in tradisionele leierskap is met die oog op die bou van ’n vertrouenskanaal tussen die polisie, die GPF, en die gemeenskap.

Hierdie studie stel voor dat daar ’n wedersyds-bevoordelende (sinergistiese/ samewerkende) verhouding tussen alle belanghebbendes behoort te wees wat op enige wyse by die versekering van veiligheid en sekuriteit in die gemeenskap betrokke is. Die studie beveel aan dat alle belanghebbendes opleiding in die daarstelling van ’n effektiewe samewerkingsverhouding, of vestiging van vennootskappe, behoort te ontvang. Om ’n volhoubare of effektiewe brug tussen die polisie en hul onderskeie gemeenskappe te wees, behoort GPF-lede ook opleiding ten opsigte van die bou van vertrouensverhoudinge, karaktervorming, en emosionele intelligensie te ondergaan. GPF-lede behoort voorverkiesingsiftingstoetse te ondergaan. ’n Omvangryker studie (deur ’n vergelykende ontleding van landelike en stedelike opsette) word vir verdere navorsing aanbeveel, aangesien die huidige studie ’n semi-landelike situasie nagevors het.

Sleutelwoorde: Sosiale Kapitaal, Vertroue, Vertroue-bou, Gemeenskap, Gemeenskapspolisiëring, Misdaadvoorkoming, Gemeenskapspolisiëringsforums, Polisie-amptenare, Tradisionele Leiers, Post-apartheid Suid-Afrika

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DEDICATION

To God, the Almighty, for His unconditional love and His indefatigable support. He bestowed upon me the courage, resilience, and the ability to face adversities.

And

To my late siblings: my sister, Promise Bhekelephi Mkhize, and my brother, Mlandelwa Mkhize. May their souls rest in peace!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BLSCC	Building Little Safe and Civilized Communities
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CBO	Community-based organisation
CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
COP	Community-oriented policing
COPS Office	Office of Community Oriented Policing Services
CPC	City Planning Commission
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
CTA	Contingency theory approach
FBO	Faith-based organisation
IACP	International Association of Chiefs of Police
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IPID	Independent Police Investigative Directorate
ISCPS	Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
KZNCC	KwaZulu-Natal Council on Crime
KZNCCPA	KwaZulu-Natal Community Crime Prevention Association
KZN PPC	KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Planning Commission
LAG	Local Action Group
NCCS	National Crime Combating Strategy
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NDP	National Development Plan
NGDS	National Growth and Development Strategy
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPA	National Peace Accord
NPC	National Planning Commission
NRSS	National Rural Safety Strategy
NSS	National Security Strategy
PAGAD	People Against Gangsterism and Drugs
PGDS	Provincial Growth and Development Strategy
RSA	Republic of South Africa

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RSS	Rural Safety Strategy
SAP	South African Police
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARA	Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment
SCT	Social capital theory
SDBIP	Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plan
SHT	Structural hole theory
SNT	Social network theory
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SRT	Social resource theory
SSCI	Social Science Citation Index
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WPSS	White Paper on Safety and Security
WPTPS	White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service
WTT	Weak tie theory

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE STUDY

God's dream is that you and I, and all of us, will realize that we are family, that we are made for togetherness, for goodness, and for compassion – Archbishop Desmond Tutu

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The notion of social capital has recently attracted a great deal of academic interest due to advances in technology across the world. Over the past few decades, social capital has increasingly gained popularity and salience as a way of understanding how communities operate in order to remain safe and productive (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008:256). Central features of social capital such as trust, social networks, reciprocity, partnerships, and collaborations have all turned out to be exceedingly useful and indispensable. Globally, technological advances have tremendously improved the value of social networks. The phenomenon of social capital facilitates and enhances the manner in which people interact with their groups, neighbours, relatives, families, and friends through social network sites (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007:1143). Social network sites and applications such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and WhatsApp are increasingly becoming more indispensable and are making an indelible mark on building and maintaining connections among communities and across nations.

The said technological advancements have not merely led to increased forms of communication, but have also increased the permeability of borders, as well as social concerns such as cyber-related crime. This, in turn, requires coordinated policing efforts that are based on partnerships between the police and communities (Marks, 2003:235-236; Warner, 2001:189-190). At a global level, two perspectives dissect the increase in criminal activities. Firstly, the sociological perspective attributes crime to a lack of social capital, lack of upward mobility, or social disorganisation (Demombynes & Ozler, 2005:266). Secondly, the economic perspective attributes crime to economic inequalities that engender conflict in society and reinforce ethnic and class differences (Blau & Blau in Demombynes & Ozler, 2005:266).

It is, in a nutshell, against the backdrop of these developments that a plethora of studies (Ellison *et al*., 2007:1143, Huber, 2009:160; Pigg & Crank, 2004:59; Preece,

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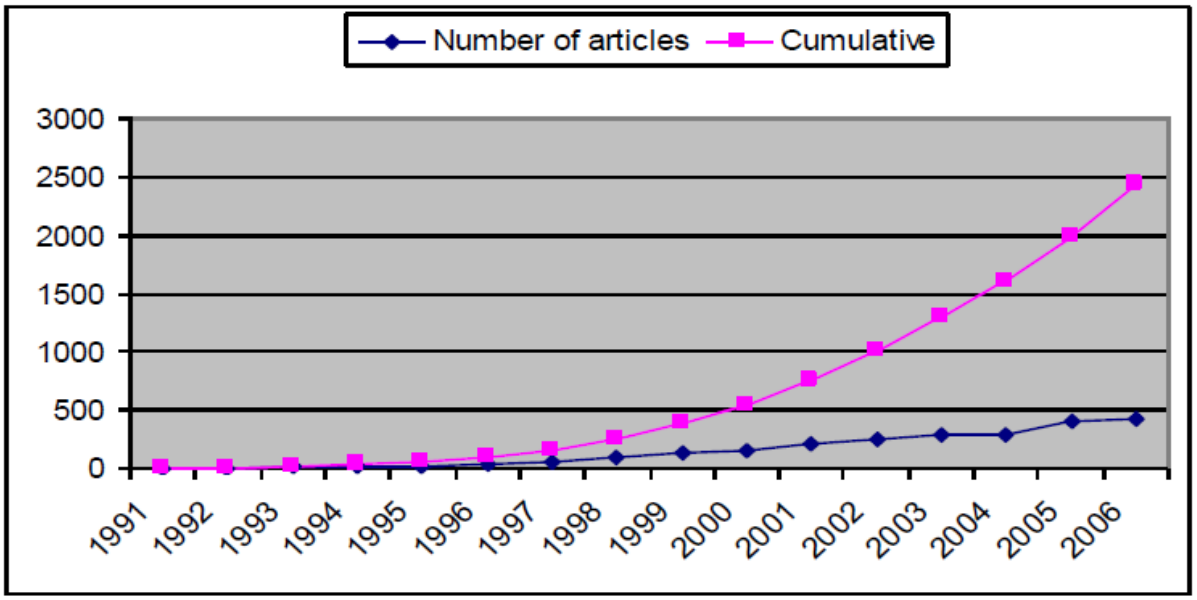
2002:37; Warner, 2001:189) have attested that the phenomenon of social capital is increasingly becoming the unifying force in terms of uniting people and fighting social ills among communities. Pesut (2002:3) cogently defines social capital as the "stock we place in personal networks and relationships among people". It is worth pointing out that social capital is a term or concept that was popularised by Coleman (1990:310) and Putnam (1993a:35).

The increasing enormity and dominance of social capital research over the past decades are affirmed by its use as a continuous cross-disciplinary approach in different fields (economics, community development, development studies, political science, agriculture, sociology, and communication studies) in the social sciences. Figure 1.1 lends credence to the frequency of references recorded in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) between the 1990s and the new century, where social capital has featured prominently (Field in Andriani, 2013:5).

Figure 1.1: Frequency of references to social capital recorded in the SSCI (1991-2006)



Source: Field (in Andriani, 2013:5)

Johnston (2010:331) attributes social capital's growth across social sciences to Robert Putnam. Various scholarly arguments encapsulate the reasons why there has been an upward trend in the number of references to social capital. Firstly, Thomas (2003:18) succinctly contends that "social capital theory (SCT) provides a multi-disciplinary approach to the understanding of communities". Secondly, Davis (2014:1) attributes the surge and salience of social capital to its ability to respond to a variety

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of situations. Thirdly, Lyons (2002:8) argues that social capital responds to disintegration and disorganisation by providing a way of thinking and mobilising informal social controls and how communities can invest in these capacities. According to Ramphele (1991:7), the characteristics of social disintegration include, among others, family breakdowns, divorce, separation, single parenthood, teenage pregnancy, the high unemployment rate, high crime rates, and violence.

Burgeoning research on social capital indicates that the SCT has been used in areas such as public libraries research (Hart, 2007:14) and socio-structural analysis of crime (Breetzke, 2010:1), and studies have used social capital research to dissect income generation (Maluccio, Haddad & May, 1999:3). The concept of social capital has been used along with social cognitive theories (Chiu, Hsu & Wang, 2006:1872) and in economic development (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:5). This does not merely lend credence to the salience of the concept but it also means that it is applicable virtually everywhere.

At the conceptual level of analysis, social capital has become a dominant feature in numerous fields because of its strengths and benefits. Most studies categorically state that social capital's main strength is its ability to hold communities and other social networks together (Cloete, 2014:1; Freuchte, 2011:1-2; Janmaat, 2011:61; Pesut, 2002:3; Preece, 2002:37; Spaaij, 2009:1134-1135; Thomas, 2003:18). Catts and Ozga (2005:2) add that social capital is not only the "social glue" that holds people together, but it "gives them a sense of belonging in an increasingly fragmented and uncertain world". Social capital can be used instrumentally in changing social contexts in order to reduce violence in schools and to improve safety and enhance academic performance in township schools (Tintswalo, 2014:51). Social capital is typically considered as a facilitating factor for health services in Africa (Lau & Ataguba, 2015:2). Other benefits can also be attributed to social capital. For instance, owing to increased accessibility to different kinds of information, social network sites continue to allow individuals to establish and maintain connections with one another (Ellison *et al*., 2007:1143).

At the operational level of analysis, critics argue that the concept of social capital is fraught with challenges. The term "social capital" has been the focus of controversies and conceptual debates in contemporary research in the social sciences (Claridge,

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2004:8). One of the major criticisms levelled against social capital is that the concept remains fundamentally vague and cannot be operationalised (see Chapter 2). There are many fluidities in the concept. Robison, Schmid and Siles (2002:1) purport that the concept lacks precision. Tzanakis (2013:2) cautions against the unfettered and unbridled use of the concept because it is mostly ambiguous. As a multi-dimensional concept, there are severe challenges in defining and measuring it (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009:480). Tzanakis (2013:2) identifies the challenges of misconception and misspecification as current stumbling blocks that stifle social capital research.

While social capital has received wide scholarly attention, trust remains the central feature of building social capital (Preece, 2002:37). Persson (2011:2) succinctly explains that trust between people, in relation to the institutions of society, is fundamental to democratic development. Rothstein (in Persson, 2011:9) is of the view that lack of trust between people and institutions in society creates a “social trap” for individuals and groups. In the same breath, vast amounts of scholarly arguments (Davis, 2014:1-4; Franklin, 2004:2; McKnight, Choudhury & Kacmar, 2002:297; Tittenbrun, 2013:8) lend credence that trust serves as the building block of social capital. In this context, Putnam (1995:67) adds that trustworthiness is particularly essential in terms of facilitating cooperation – a key element of social capital. Building trust is therefore considered a precursor of social capital. Although a multiplicity of studies fervently believe that trust is a key ingredient of social capital, scholars (Claridge, 2004:9; Wang & Emurian, 2005:108) argue that quantifying, operationalising, and measuring trust as a variable has become a conundrum in the social sciences. There are no uniform or widely accepted approaches or methods to measure trust.

Because the world has become increasingly globalised, fragmented, and uncertain, social capital (albeit not a panacea) has been applied in government programmes, namely policing. Akçomak and Ter Weel (2008:1) explain that where there is higher social capital, the crime rates are lower. Sun, Hu and Wu (2012:87) point out that “public trust in political institutions is a pivotal issue in any society because it signals citizen support essential for the legitimacy of the government”. This, to some extent, is only achievable when there is public trust in the police. A great deal of research (Kääriäinen, 2008:141; Sun *et al*., 2012:87; Sun & Wu, 2010:20-21; Wu, Poteyeva & Sun, 2012:189-190; Zhong, 2009:157) on public trust in the police has been conducted

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globally. Because of the legitimacy crisis on the side of police, most countries are now moving towards applying community policing (see Chapter 4) – seen as one of the police reforms.

Government programmes promote community-level social capital when they view participants as producers, not clients, and develop a facilitative, participatory structure (Warner, 2001:189). Government institutions serve as resources in terms of funding, power, and expertise (Warner, 2001:189). However, certain government institutions such as schools and police services do not have democratic governance structures, which does not augur well for social capital building. Efforts such as community policing, neighbourhood-based social service systems, and school-based administrative teams therefore bode well in terms of promoting community-level social capital (Warner, 2001:189-190). The juxtaposition of social capital and community policing (police-community partnership) is the central feature of this study. Wheeler and McCoy (2009:1) assert that community-oriented policing (COP) establishes a police-community partnership aimed at aiding identifying, prioritising, and resolving crime problems. To achieve this partnership, Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012:276) maintain that the trust of citizens in the police greatly enhances attempts to quell criminality. Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012:277) further purport that “fruitful cooperation between the police and citizens require mutual trust. The citizens must be able to trust the police and vice versa”.

While a plethora of studies (Baker, 2008:23, 2009:372; Kyed, 2009:354; Machuki, 2015:10; Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:14-15) have advocated an improved relationship between the police and communities in order to prevent and reduce crime, the relationship continues to diminish in South Africa, which leads to diminished trust (Berning & Masiloane, 2011:62; Bezuidenhout, 2008:48-49; Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:263; Gordon, 2001:136; Shaw & Shearing, 1998:8; Scharf, 2001:75; Zondi and Ukpere, 2014:574). On the one hand, Berning & Masiloane (2011) attribute diminishing trust and relationship to the militarised nature of the South African police system. On the other hand, Zondi and Ukpere (2014:574) partly attribute the diminishing trust to decades of colonialism and apartheid where the police selectively and unjustifiably prosecuted and suppressed black communities. The repressive policing instilled fear among black people. Post-apartheid South Africa continues to epitomise the apartheid era in the sense that cases of paramilitary (or authoritarian)

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policing practices are said to be on the rise. Although a move to community policing along with democratisation and globalisation is evident across the world, it is failing in South Africa partly because of uncontrolled power struggles between the police and Community Policing Forum (CPF) members. Instead of recognising the role of CPFs, CPF members have not been treated with respect by police officers and their role has mostly been reduced to an intelligence-gathering source (Gordon, 2001:139).

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

While social capital is premised on the idea of trust, networks of association, sustenance of cooperation, social cohesion, and established partnerships for effective community policing, police-community partnerships in South Africa continue to be riddled with challenges. Police officers are frequently not willing to listen to CPF members. Police officers often view CPF members as intruding into their domain (Gordon, 2001:139). Tensions and issues of control between the CPF and the police continue to remain unresolved. Bruce (2011:5) posits that through mere participation in forums, CPF members fervently believed that they had some authority over the police. This presents a double-edged sword. On the one hand, Newham and Faull (2011:1) argue that the abuse of power within the South African Police Service (SAPS) is one of the major concerns. On the other hand, lack of shared (or common) understanding of the term “community” complicates community policing efforts (Seagrave, 1996:2). The conception of “community” is still not uniformly understood (Pelser, 1999:5).

Other factors also complicate community policing efforts. For instance, political affiliation undermines the effectiveness of CPF members in KwaXimba in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. Seen through the lenses of long-held political feuds between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and African National Congress (ANC), members’ political affiliation continues to manifest during the recruitment and selection of CPF members. Succession plans revolve around and are dictated by political affiliation (see Chapter 8). For example, the current ward councillor is the former chairperson of the CPF, while the nominee for ward councillor is currently the chairperson of the CPF. It therefore appears that the idea of police-community partnerships (centred on social capital) has largely been politicised (Community Policing Forum, n.d.:6). As a result, the CPF platform has become completely

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dysfunctional because members forget their roles (Community Policing Forum, n.d.:6). Because the apartheid era created socially disorganised and disintegrated communities, the inability of local communities to realise common values and norms affects their ability to solve community problems through community-based policing (Bruce, 2011:6). Bruce (2011) argues that CPFs have been ineffective due to inequality and institutionalised racial discrimination. This, in turn, adversely affects reciprocal relationships between the police and communities.

Partly because of lack of trust and the legitimacy crisis between the police and the community of KwaXimba, people have died as a result of vigilantism or group attacks (see Chapter 8). These deaths warrant scientific inquiry into police-community relations. Martin (2012:221) aptly explains that vigilantes are inevitable because they fill the gap left by the police. Vigilantes take different forms. Lancaster (2019:2) mentions beatings or stoning as the most common forms of vigilantism, although apartheid-style “necklacing” (where a car tyre is placed around the suspect and set alight) is also common. Martin (2012:219) further argues that policing in South Africa has long proven to be difficult, dangerous, and dirty work. Incidents of vigilantism are mainly attributed to poor communication between the police and communities. Despite continuous poor police-community relations in KwaXimba, the social capital model has never been applied to restore and build trust between the police and the community in the area. Yet, scholarly arguments robustly postulate that it is able to solve social problems.

1.3 THE AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to analyse the role of social capital in a trust-building model between the police and communities in KwaXimba, eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to address the following research questions:

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1.4.1 Primary research question

- To what extent does social capital contribute to trust-building between the police and communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality?

1.4.2 Secondary research questions

- Does the building of social capital contribute to trust-building between the police and communities?
- Does trust between the police and communities contribute to lower levels of crime?
- Is there trust between the police and the community in the eThekwini Metro?
- Are there sufficient efforts to increase social capital in the eThekwini Metro?
- What are the hindrances to building social capital in the eThekwini Metro?

1.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study aims to achieve the following research objectives:

1.5.1 Primary research objective

- To establish the role of social capital in trust-building between the police and communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.

1.5.2 Secondary research objectives

- To analyse the role of social capital in reducing crime in the eThekwini Metro.
- To uncover and identify factors that contribute to successes and failures of social capital.
- To analyse the foundational principles of social capital and their relation to building trust between the police and communities.
- To firstly conduct international field research on the topic of social capital and its relation to trust-building between the police and communities, and secondly to analyse current practices in this regard in the eThekwini Metro.

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- To evaluate the literature, international information, and local research findings (eThekwini Metro) in order to propose a normative model for building social capital and reducing crime in the eThekwini Metro.

1.6 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Traditionally, it is advisable to say what is intended and what is not intended with research that ought to be undertaken. Setting boundaries helps a researcher to apply his or her energies to the problem statement at hand and not unwittingly wander around and waste time on matters that are not substantively associated with the problem. While this study draws on previous research conducted both at an international and local level on the relationship between the police and communities, the findings represent and confirm the practical realities in the selected case study. Thus, geographically speaking, the study confined itself to the KwaXimba (a semi-rural, tribal-led, and predominantly isiZulu-speaking) community in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.

Although the results may be applicable to (or synonymous with) many places in South Africa, this study critically reflects on the experiences, perceptions, and views of the police, the CPF, and the residents of the entire community in KwaXimba. KwaXimba is situated approximately 50 kilometres outside the city of Durban. The area consists of 11 sub-sections – with each represented by an *Induna* (headman). These consist of Denge, Sikhelekehleni, Sithumba, Bhobhonono, Mvini, Nkandla, Mngcweni, Msunduzi (No. 9), Siweni, Ntukusweni, and Thweba. Each of these sub-sections have smaller sections within them. For example, under Msunduzi (No. 9), there are smaller sections such as Mhali, Mfene, and Livapo. Under Ntukusweni, there are smaller sections like Jabula, Getse, and Nconcosi. Under Thweba, there are smaller sections like Berea, Mbovana, and Zwelisha. This makes it one of the biggest communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. Although the community is mainly culturally homogenous, there has been an influx of Somalians, Pakistanis, Zimbabweans, Eritreans, etc. These foreign nationals own shops in the area.

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1.7 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Although there has been burgeoning research on the subject of social capital in South Africa, no meaningful (or substantive) research has focused exclusively on social capital as a model for building trust between the police and communities. Previous studies focused on various aspects of social capital such as social capital and health-related issues (Burns & Kirkbride, 2012:163; Lau & Ataguba, 2015:1-2; President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief & United States Agency for International Development, 2013:3; Pronyk, Harpham, Busza, Phetla, Morison, Hargreaves, Kim, Watts, & Porter, 2008:1559-1560), public health and development (Thomas, 2003:18-19), social capital and water-pipe smoking (Desai, 2014:1-4), the environment (Müller, n.d.:2-3; Schramski, 2012:38), social media (Peterson & Johnston, 2015:1), policymaking (Cardo, 2014:9), social capital in community care and support (Dageid, Sliep, Akintola & Duckert, 2011:1-5), entrepreneurship (Pinglé, 2001:5), cooperatives (Steynberg & Grundling, 2013:1-2), Ubuntu (Mbaya, 2011:2), multinationals in South Africa (Jones, Nyland & Pollitt, 2001:2), trustworthiness and social capital (Carter & Castillo, 2009:695-696), social capital as a vision for public libraries (Hart, 2007:14), measuring social capital (Jooste, 2005:3; Network for Business Sustainability South Africa, 2014:3), income generation (MaLuccio *et al*., 1999:1), and implications for the common good (Cloete, 2014:1). Lastly, Amisi (2006:1-2) and Gomulia (2006:14) focused on social networks, social capital, and refugee migration. On the whole, the abovementioned studies did not provide considerable focus on community policing (police-community relations) and social capital. Based on the above analysis, most studies conducted on social capital in South Africa have focused mostly on health-related issues, with no substantive focus on social capital and community policing as a crime prevention strategy.

Having identified the existing lacuna, it is worth noting, however, that other studies made use of social capital either as a tool worthy of consideration when devising plans and strategies for crime prevention and policing in South Africa or as a complementary element in fighting violence and social disorganisation. These studies included social capital, social disorganisation, and violence prevention (Emmett, 2001:1-3), social capital and citizen participation (Esau, 2008:355-356), paramilitary and community policing (Persson, 2011:11), policing in South Africa (Breetzke, 2006:723-740), the

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role of social capital in reducing violence in South African township schools (Tintswalo, 2014:51-52), and socio-structural analysis of crime (Breetzke, 2010:1).

Previous studies that were conducted on CPFs in South Africa did not expressly use social capital as a model to build trust between the police and communities. Rather, these studies focused on police-community partnerships (Benit-Gbaffou, 2006:301-302), community policing as a new approach (Minnaar, 2010:189; South African Institute of Race Relations, 2016:3-4), challenges of community policing (Pelser, 1999:1-2), sector policing as a method to improve community policing and challenges (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008:1-2; Hattingh, 2015:1; Hlungwani, 2014:6; Maroga, 2003:13, 2004:2; Smith, 2008:22; Van Niekerk, 2016:8-9), barriers to community policing (Manaliyo, 2016:1309), the role of the community in the establishment of CPFs (Morebodi, 2015:15; Nkwenyane, 2011:7), community policing and accountability (Maroga, 2005:1-2), and the police and crime prevention (Griggs, 2003:31; Kruger *et al*., 2016:10; Palmary, 2001:1; Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:4). Although community policing involves community participation (a central element of social capital), social capital remains implicit and superficial in scholarly arguments. As a consequence, there is currently a need for a study that would substantively, expressly, and explicitly focus on social capital as a model for building trust between the police and communities.

Research on social capital and community policing or police-community partnerships abounds in the developed or Western countries (the United States of America [USA] and the United Kingdom [UK]); for instance, crime, social capital, and community participation (Saegert & Winkel, 2004:219), police-community and social capital (Scott, 2002:147), community policing and social capital (Pino, 2001:200), social capital and trust in the police (MacDonald & Stokes, 2006:358-359), fear of crime and social capital (Gainey, Alper & Chappell, 2011:120; Ferguson & Mindel, 2007:322-323), residential burglary and social capital (Martin, 2002:132-133), policing styles, legitimacy, trust, and social capital (Hawdon, 2008:182), social capital and crime (Rose & Clear, 1998:441), neighbourhood watch and social capital (Crawford, 2006:957), police perceptions of social capital (Jackson & Wade, 2005:49), and police social capital and community policing (Robinson, 2003:656). Very few substantive studies have been conducted by developing countries in this regard. Research that juxtaposes community policing (police-community partnerships) and social capital

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remains scant in the developing world (particularly in South Africa) and is therefore urgently needed.

Against this background, this study bridges the existing knowledge gap by using social capital as a foundational model for building trust between the police and communities in the South African context. Basically, interest and curiosity in a study that involves social capital offers unique, ground-breaking research because of its ability to respond to social disintegration and to allay fears in a crime-ridden society (Ramphele, 1991:7). Furthermore, social capital improves partnerships and an understanding of communities (Thomas, 2003:18).

Therefore, using the research findings, along with lessons learned from the selected case studies (China and the USA), an integrated, participatory, or context-specific framework (see Chapter 9) is developed with the aim of rebuilding and restoring trust between the police and communities. The framework places traditional leadership as the facilitator or promoter of social capital building and the centre or backbone of trust-building processes between the police and the community. In an attempt to develop globally competitive and locally relevant approaches, the study also draws lessons from selected African countries with the aim of a deeper and broader understanding of what is traditionally considered as an African alternative model (see Chapter 4). Presently, developing a context-specific framework remains crucial because the relations between the police and communities (especially black communities) in South Africa are primarily poor. Social capital's ability to improve partnerships and create understanding of communities is necessary and relevant to deal with power struggles and tensions that exist between the police and CPF members in South Africa.

This study thus contributes substantively to the existing body of literature by shedding light on the orthodoxy, debates, and complexities relating to safety and security, community policing strategies for developing countries, social crime prevention strategies using social capital, and the role of community participation in community development.

1.8 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The trust between the police and communities has been diminishing, which does not bode well for social crime prevention. Power struggles that exist between the CPF and

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the police have also become uncontrollable. Research is therefore needed to identify the sources of conflict and to propose meaningful ways to end the conflict. This study underscores and ascertains why the objectives of social crime prevention strategies are not translating into desired results on the ground. It serves as an evidence-based study (monitoring and evaluation) by providing first-hand information on the (in)effectiveness of policy frameworks relating to crime prevention. The study seeks to identify the underlying reasons why such policies need to be reviewed. The research findings of the study are useful for academic circles, policymakers, practitioners, community development specialists, and think tanks that specialise in safety and security-related matters.

1.9 RESEARCH STRATEGY, DESIGN, PROCEDURE AND METHODS[1]

In an effort to find answers to the research questions and to provide clarification (or possible solutions) to the research problem, Scotland (2012:9) explicates that a researcher should acquaint himself/herself with a few questions. Firstly, what constitutes social reality or the truth out there (ontology)? Secondly, how is knowledge created and acquired (epistemology)? Ordinarily, using epistemological questions directs and guides a researcher to make appropriate methodological choices. Thirdly, how does one go about finding out the nature of social reality (methodology)? The latter is thus the primacy of this section since it pertains to the choice of methods to be used in the study.

1.9.1 The research strategy or approach

A research approach (or strategy) provides a researcher with three options to approach research. The options include qualitative, quantitative or a combination of both (mixed methods approach). In attempting to encapsulate and juxtapose all the data necessary to provide intimate knowledge on the research problem, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was deemed appropriate.

[1] Wotela (2017:223) argues that this is the preferred heading for a chapter in a research report for Business and Public Administration Research. He goes on to argue that this is precisely because “The Name ‘Research Methodology’ Describes the Module, But Certainly not the Chapter in a Research Report” (Wotela, 2017:225).

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Traditionally, in research theory this combination is widely referred to as a mixed-methods approach (Archibald, Radil, Zhang & Hanson, 2015:6-7; Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2014:58; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007:112). Historically, the mixed-methods approach emerged mainly in response to different approaches and methods that were used to view the world (Johnson *et al*., 2007:113).

In theory, using a mixed-methods approach enhances the understanding of complex social phenomena under investigation since the combined approaches are able to systematically complement each other – thereby satisfying a key requirement of the concept of triangulation (or cross-validation). Triangulation is defined as a process of using two or more instruments to collect data on a phenomenon under study (Arksey & Knight, 1999:22). In essence, triangulation typically bridges the issues of reliability and validity in research results (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992:14). The main inspiration for triangulation is that the weaknesses of one research instrument are offset by the strengths of another instrument. Although a mixed-methods approach has become widely popular (Archibald *et al*., 2015:6-7), researchers should be extremely circumspect and vigilant when using it because of practical challenges.

In practice, using a mixed-methods approach creates huge procedural and methodological challenges (Archibald *et al*., 2015:7). Therefore, with respect to practical challenges, Teddlie and Yu (2007:77) propose that qualitative and quantitative techniques need to be combined in creative ways. In the midst of these practical challenges, this study adopted a qualitative-dominant approach because it sought to primarily interpret and understand the nature of social reality based on the lived experiences of respondents in their natural contexts/setting. Against this backdrop, this study is thus interpretive in nature and is undergirded by the phenomenological approach. The main inspiration for adopting a phenomenological approach was to understand the nature of social reality based on the experiences of the participants. To countervail the weaknesses associated with the mixed-methods approach, the data were meticulously synthesised. The meticulous synthesis of data from different datasets allows one piece of data to progressively validate or corroborate another, and vice versa. The concurrent presentation of quantitative and qualitative data in Chapter 7 allows different datasets to validate or corroborate one another in a mutually beneficial fashion. Quantitative data are explained and clarified using qualitative data.

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1.9.2 The research design

In fulfilling the said criteria or logic (or sequence) of approaches to research, a research design is needed to collect both quantitative and qualitative data that seek to ensure scientific rigour and soundness. Kothari (2004:31) defines research design as follows: “Decisions regarding what, where, when, how much, by what means concerning an inquiry or a research study constitute a research design.” Methodology “is concerned with why, what, from where, when and how data is collected and analysed” (Scotland, 2012:9). The purpose of research design is to “provide a framework for collection and analysis of data” (Bryman, 2012:46). Research design and methodology are defined as a blueprint for collecting and analysing data. Since the study is primarily interpretive in nature, a case study design was used. Baxter and Jack (2008:544) contend that a qualitative case study approach allows researchers to study complex social phenomena within their contexts. A case study approach allows researchers to explore a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources (Baxter & Jack, 2008:544). Similarly, Crowe, Cresswell, Robertson, Huby, Avery and Sheikh (2011:1) firmly concur with Baxter and Jack when they argue that a case study approach allows for a critical exploration of one or more issues. The case study was used to gain an in-depth, multi-faceted and complex understanding of the relations between the police and communities in KwaXimba situated in the eThekwini Municipality (Crowe *et al*., 2011:1).

1.9.3 Data-collection techniques

Because of the nature of the social phenomenon under study, both primary and secondary sources were meticulously and conscientiously used to collect data. The primary sources are in accordance with the mixed-methods approach adopted. In this study, the primary sources included, among others, personal in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and a structured questionnaire.

1.9.3.1 Personal in-depth interviews

The interviews were used primarily as the first layer of collecting qualitative data. Bless *et al*. (2014:193) define an interview as a method that typically “involves direct

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personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem". Traditionally, interviews may be *structured*, *semi-structured*, and *unstructured*. Semi-structured personal in-depth interviews were used and they created an enabling environment for the flexibility that is required for a qualitative interview. Semi-structured interviews are based on a set of prepared, mostly open-ended questions, which guide the interview and the interviewer (Flick, 2014:199). Interviews may also be *face to face*, *telephonic*, or *electronic*, depending on the circumstances in which they are used. In this case, the interviews were only *face to face*. Personal in-depth interviews were conducted with 11 *Izinduna* (headmen) who represent different sub-sections in the area, and a ward councillor who represents political leadership. The participants were allowed to navigate and express themselves freely, and the researcher only probed for clarification when and where it was deemed necessary for the participants to expand on the subject at hand. Probing was done in a way that did not interrupt the participants but which dissected the phenomenon. Probing was easy because in a qualitative interview the interviewer has only a general plan and not a specific set of questions (Babbie, 2004:300). The plan is adapted to the flow of the conversation (Flick, 2014:199). The downside of qualitative interviews is that they are prone to bias or subjectivity. Since qualitative research focuses more on the meanings, perceptions, views, and experiences of individuals in their natural settings, it frequently runs the risk of ignoring contextual sensitivities (Silverman in Rahman, 2017:104). This may eventually give rise to the low credibility of results (Rahman, 2017:105). It is also not easy to accurately measure qualitative data as it comes in thick (detailed) datasets. To mitigate this, the themes that emerged from the qualitative data were coded and had to pass through the following three critical steps, namely open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (explained in detail under the data-analysis section).

1.9.3.2 Focus group discussions

The second layer of qualitative interviews included a discussion between the interviewer and a group of participants. Characteristically, focus group discussions may be *structured*, *semi-structured*, and *unstructured*. This study adopted semi-structured focus group discussions in order to allow the researcher to probe for further clarification and to obtain a collective view. The number of participants in a focus group

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often varies and there is no singular or standardised procedure in terms of what constitutes a focus group. For example, on the one hand, Babbie (2004:302) prescribes that in a focus group, 12 to 15 people are brought together in a room to engage in a guided discussion. Babbie (2013:349) later recommends that in a focus group, five to 15 people are brought together. On the other hand, Bless *et al*. (2014:200) prescribe that a focus group should consist of six to ten members who are interviewed together. Wilkinson (2004:178) maintains that a focus group "can involve as few as two, or as many as a dozen or so, participants (the norm is between four and eight)". Regardless of the uncertainty with regard to the size of the group, the strength of a focus group is that it creates a rare or unique platform where different views are shared, which increases the credibility of the results as the participants close one another's information gaps. The researcher facilitates the group discussion (Wilkinson, 2004:178). The drawback of a focus group discussion is that it requires a facilitator who possesses expert people management skills as one or two participants may tend to dominate the discussion. This drawback often presents challenges for novice qualitative researchers. To countervail this drawback, the researcher relied heavily on his expert knowledge of how to facilitate a focus group discussion as he has conducted many of them before[2].

Firstly, with regard to conducting focus group discussions, a total of eight police officers were interviewed together in a conference room inside the police station. The venue was secure, conducive, convenient, and there were no disruptions. The police officers were all comfortable to participate in a discussion. The police officers included mostly all ranks up to the level of captain, excluding the lieutenant colonel (station commander) who left just before the start of the discussion citing various work-related commitments. Secondly, a total of three CPF members were interviewed together using the same venue on a different date. Most of the CPF members did not show up, citing various commitments. It is necessary to point out that some of the CPF members did not attend because they were working. Poor attendance was also partly attributed to the malfunctioning of the CPF platform. Despite these inescapable challenges, it is

[2] Researcher has conducted face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions in a social capital research project organised by the University of Oslo, Norway and University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban in KwaNgcolosi Community. The researcher also conducted archival research and face-to-face interviews in a research conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council on KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project.

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also instructive to mention that all the participants were selected on the basis of relevance to the topic under study (Babbie, 2013:349).

1.9.3.3 Structured questionnaire

The third layer of collecting primary data was by means of a structured questionnaire, which was used to collect quantitative data. All the households, irrespective of position and rank in the community, were given an equal chance to complete a structured questionnaire. A total of 200 questionnaires were distributed in the whole community, with 150 being properly completed and returned in a good and usable condition. This implies that for each and every possible 100 households that could have been included in the sample, the researcher distributed ten questionnaires to ten households – satisfying the *tenth* interval (discussed under systematic sampling technique). The sample of 200 selected was derived from more than 2 000 households that formed part of the population. This was deemed considerable and substantive given the remoteness or distance between households in semi-rural communities.

The researcher distributed the questionnaires on the first visit to the household, and collected them on a second visit, usually the following day. The structured questionnaire typically comprised a specific set of predetermined and closed-ended questions that covered basic variables such as social capital, police-community partnerships, and partnerships between CPF members and the community.

The advantage of a structured questionnaire is that it allows for greater precision in reporting the results. It is cost effective, less biased, and less intrusive than a face-to-face interview. Nevertheless, the disadvantage is that there might be a low response rate since researchers traditionally use larger sample sizes (Marshall, 2005:132). The questionnaire is inflexible as it does not afford researchers the opportunity to probe or ask for any clarification (Marshall, 2005:132). Despite these drawbacks associated with the use of a questionnaire, the response rate was relatively acceptable. The inability to probe, or inflexibility, was complemented or mitigated by qualitative interviews, which were more flexible and open-ended (Marshall, 2005:132; Nayak & Narayan, 2019:35).

As per the research procedure for administering a questionnaire, the respondents were allowed to answer the questionnaire unassisted (self-administered). The

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researcher only clarified areas of concern. The researcher adhered strictly, without any form of deviation, to the predetermined questions. The closed-ended questions were formulated in such a way that they extracted more information about the research problem and research questions at hand, and reflected the theoretical foundations of the study. The questionnaires elicited information from the respondents based on their experiences, perceptions, and knowledge of the relationship between the police and the community of KwaXimba. The participants comprised elderly and young participants, both male and females.

1.9.3.4 Secondary sources

In addition, secondary sources were also used in the study with the aim of deepening and enhancing understanding of the social phenomenon. The secondary sources supplemented and bridged the gaps left by the primary sources of data. This included an exceedingly exhaustive review of a wide range of academic books, newspapers, White Papers, policy documents, journal articles, government legislation, the Constitution, and Internet articles. Combined together, the secondary data sources were found to be useful in terms of providing theoretical foundations and relevant contextual information to the study, and acted mainly as a stepping stone and a key reference point for the researcher throughout the study.

1.9.4 Pilot study

The correctness and soundness of the research instruments (structured questionnaire, focus group discussions, and personal in-depth interviews) were verified and authenticated through the careful use of a pilot study. Yin (2014:96) argues that the pilot case is more formative as it assists the researcher to develop relevant lines of questioning. According to Neuman (1997:195), most quantitative researchers use pilot tests to enhance the understanding of the research instruments. After conducting a pilot study with ten participants who were selected randomly, the structured questionnaire was subsequently modified to eliminate ambiguities and misunderstandings that were identified as they could have potentially affected the reliability and the validity of the study. The marginal number of ten participants was selected in a small sub-section of the KwaXimba community which did not form part

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of the study. This was because the pilot study does not traditionally form part of the sample – it rather serves as a precursor of data collection.

1.9.5 Data-analysis techniques

For a researcher to make sound inferences, analogies, and informed extrapolations, the primary and secondary data collected need to be analysed with great care, thoroughness, and scientific rigour. Two data-analysis methods were therefore used to analyse the empirical data collected from the field. These methods were the content-analysis method and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) – a computer software package.

1.9.5.1 Content-analysis method

According to Wilkinson (2004:178), conventional techniques of analysing qualitative data include content analysis and thematic analysis. In this study, the content analysis method was used to analyse the qualitative data obtained from primary and secondary sources. Bless *et al*. (2014:352) define content analysis as a research methodology that is used to analyse the meaning of communications. It is essentially concerned with finding core themes that speakers refer to, and the information or message that they want to pass on to their audience. The researcher painstakingly used the method to analyse data from the focus group discussions, in-depth personal interviews, and a myriad of secondary sources. In this case, Wilkinson (2004:178) purports that once the recorded qualitative data have been transcribed, the data should then be analysed using either content or thematic analysis. Following the dictates of content analysis, the researcher practically assessed what was said in each text from the fieldwork (interview transcripts and fieldnotes) and thoroughly checked how often something appeared or how often it was said (patterns). The interview transcripts and fieldnotes were read in search of critical terms, key events, or themes (Neuman, 1997:422). The researcher carefully selected the data that were relevant to the research questions, research problem, and the literature review. As pointed out, Neuman (1997:422) aptly explicates that the qualitative data must go through three stages (open coding, axial coding, and selective coding). Open coding takes place when the researcher locates themes and assigns initial codes or labels in a first attempt to condense a mass of data into categories (Neuman, 2014:481). The second stage is axial coding, where the

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researcher meticulously and sensitively reviews and examines initial codes to ensure consistency and to eliminate ambiguity or errors (Neuman, 1997:423; 2014:484). In this stage, a researcher is at liberty to examine certain themes in more detail and to examine others superficially or in less detail. The third stage according to this hierarchy is selective coding (Neuman, 2014:484). In this stage, the researcher makes comparisons (identifies similarities and differences) and contrasts using themes.

In accordance with Neuman's (1997; 2014) set criteria, the themes were coded based on their frequency and patterns. Importantly, there is no specific rule on how many times a researcher can code; some researchers code every line in the text, while others code sparingly. Thereafter, the themes, views, language used, and the words and phrases were checked, cross-checked, categorised, and classified accordingly; following all the steps prescribed by Neuman (1997; 2014). The content was arranged into different main categories (substantive themes responding directly to the research questions and research problem) and sub-themes. After assigning codes, the data were checked and cross-checked to enhance credibility and trustworthiness.

1.9.5.2 Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

SPSS was used primarily to analyse the quantitative data. Babbie (2013:414) states that most quantitative data have increasingly been handled by SPSS. The data from the structured questionnaires were first coded properly and meticulously. Key in analysing quantitative data is transforming data from words to numbers. The transformed data were captured on computer using numbers. Quantitative data analysis is ordinarily based on three approaches, namely univariate (one variable), bivariate (two variables), and multivariate (more than two variables) (Babbie, 2013:418). In this case, each variable (univariate) was analysed separately in relation to others. This was especially useful in calculating averages. Using descriptive statistics, frequencies and patterns emerged, which were scientifically presented using tables. Analysing quantitative data through the use of SPSS was easy and time saving at the same time. However, for data processing to be made easy, the data must be accurately and seamlessly entered into the computer software and coded consistently throughout. The software needs to be run carefully and systematically. The downside is that using SPSS is extremely difficult and requires training. To mitigate these

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challenges and run the computer software unhindered, the researcher was assisted by seasoned and experienced researchers who have used SPSS several times.

1.9.6 Sampling techniques

As could be expected from any form of research that involves larger populations, not all potential participants are included in a study – only the sample that meets certain methodological requirements is selected from the entire population. Teddlie and Yu (2007:87) point out that researchers make sampling decisions based on available resources (time and money). The availability (or non-availability) of resources should not, however, weaken the quality and credibility of the research results. To select participants, this study employed probability and non-probability sampling methods. In doing so, the researcher sought to achieve representativeness or a saturation trade-off (Teddlie & Yu, 2007:86-87). To unpack this trade-off further, on the one hand, quantitative research requires that the sample ought to be representative of the entire population from which it was drawn. On the other hand, qualitative research requires that in order for the results to be flawless and beyond reproach, researchers ought to reach a point of saturation in their data collection. The probability sampling explicates that the elements of a selected sample should accurately resemble the parameters of the population they were selected from (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006:134). Terre Blanche *et al*. (2006:139) further define non-probability sampling as "any kind of sampling where the selection of elements is not determined by the statistical principle of randomness". In this case, systematic random sampling and purposive sampling were used to select participants for the study.

1.9.6.1 Systematic (interval) sampling

Because the study needed large amounts of quantitative data to provide the foundational/numerical information on the extent of social capital, partnerships between the police and the community, and partnerships between the CPF and the community, a large proportion of participants had to be chosen randomly to complete the questionnaires. This was done to ensure that the sample represented the whole population and that all participants would be given an equal chance of participation. Systematic random sampling was found to be appropriate for administering structured questionnaires. Systematic random sampling follows a standard procedure where

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certain potential participants in each sub-section (zone) are skipped to ensure consistent intervals (the *n-th* element) from a list of items arranged in sequence on a predetermined basis (Fox & Bayat, 2013:56). Additionally, Babbie (2013:147) argues that "every *k*th element in the total list is chosen systematically for inclusion in the sample". Bless *et al*. (2014:167) agree that the *tenth* element is included in the sample, and is based primarily on equal intervals. Applying the basic principle of this technique, the researcher skipped certain households (guided mainly by house numbers) within the identified sub-sections. Where there were no house numbers or where the numbers were erroneously (or unintelligibly) written, the researcher had to position himself in a vantage point where he could see clearly and have a good view of all the houses, and thereafter he started counting them manually (or physically). Using main roads before turning off into the driveways (or small roads) was useful since some of the streets could not be recognised or were either destroyed or barely visible. Thus, each portion that was skipped in each sub-section (zone) was equivalent to the other portions skipped in other sub-sections. In distributing questionnaires, a sampling interval of household numbers (1, 11, 22, and 33 – skipping *ten* in between) was used to select the participants in all the geographical sub-sections.

1.9.6.2 Purposive (judgemental) sampling

While a researcher has no direct judgement or control of the sample under systematic sampling, the purposive sampling technique is based on the judgement of the researcher regarding the characteristics of the population (Bless *et al*., 2014:172). In this case, only the police, CPF members, traditional leaders, and political leaders were included because they deal specifically with security-related issues in the area and are (at least in theory) supposed to work together. There is also an established form of partnerships and reciprocal relationships (central features of social capital). In this partnership, the CPF apparently acts as a bridge or coordinating structure between the community and the police. The researcher selected respondents based primarily on the intimate/expert knowledge they possess on matters relating to partnerships between the CPF, the police, and the community. They provided responses based on their experiences, views, and perceptions of how the said partnership/relationship works.

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1.9.7 Trustworthiness, validity, and reliability

1.9.7.1 Trustworthiness

Expectedly, at the heart of any scientific research, researchers are required to select methods and approaches that will ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of the research data. In this case, trustworthiness is defined as the degree of confidence used by qualitative researchers to ensure the reliability and credibility of the research data (Polit & Beck, 2012:745). With respect to trustworthiness, the participants were interviewed in their natural settings using similar research instruments and ensuring that rapport was built so that the participants felt comfortable when participating. Building rapport improved the richness and correctness of the qualitative data extracted from the participants. The information extracted from the participants was treated with respect and was not tampered with. Researchers are urged to report their research data honestly and truthfully.

1.9.7.2 Validity

Validity in qualitative research relates to the “appropriateness” of the tools, processes, and data (Leung, 2015:325). It explicates and ascertains whether the methodological choices made in the study design were appropriate or not. Validity ordinarily considers the precision with which the findings accurately reflect data (Long & Rigour in Noble & Smith, 2015:34). As an indisputably multi-dimensional concept, the choice of the study design and the manner in which the data were collected enabled the researcher to test the social phenomenon of social capital from a plethora of levels. The simultaneous use of several methods, such as in-depth personal interviews, focus group discussions, and structured questionnaires, allowed the instruments to complement one another so that the weaknesses of one instrument were offset by another. In formulating the research instruments (interview schedules for both personal in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, and a structured questionnaire), the researcher ensured that the sets of questions included were derived from the primary research questions, the research problem, and the related literature and theoretical frameworks validity is apparent, content validity is understood differently in quantitative and qualitative research. Firstly, as per the dictates of quantitative content validity, the researcher ensured that only the most important and correct content was

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included in formulating the research instruments (Zamanzadeh, Ghahramanian, Rassouli, Abbaszadeh, Alavi-Majd & Nikanfar, 2015:168). Secondly, as per the dictates of qualitative content validity, only pre-eminent experts and practitioners were chosen for this study to share their knowledge (Zamanzadeh *et al*., 2015:168). In a quest to adhere to the dictates of construct validity, the researcher's prerogative is to make sure that the empirical research process measures what it is intended to measure (Bryman in Wotela, 2017:237). The attributes and themes in the research instruments were in line with the research problem, the aim of the study, related literature, and research questions, and all the steps in the research process were followed.

1.9.7.3 Reliability

While the reliability of a research instrument relates to the extent to which it yields the same results on repeated trials, reliability is understood differently in qualitative and quantitative research. On the one hand, in quantitative research, reliability relates to the exact replicability of the processes and the results (Leung, 2015:325). On the other hand, in qualitative research, reliability is typically concerned with consistency, dependability, stability, and neutrality (Leung, 2015:325; Noble & Smith, 2015:34). To this end, Silverman (in Leung, 2015:325) is of the view that there are five pertinent strategies that can be used to ensure the reliability of the processes and results in a research project, namely "refutational analysis, constant data comparison, comprehensive data use, inclusive of the deviant case and use of tables". On the contrary, Polit and Beck (2012:585) mention transferability, dependability, confirmability, and authenticity as the yardsticks to measure research findings. Reliability, according to Wotela (2017:237), depends on the amount of information provided by the researcher relating to how data was collected, processed, analysed and how the reporting process was carried out. In this case, the quantitative data obtained and presented in tables were meticulously compared and contrasted with the existing literature with the aim of clarification, analogy, and extrapolations. Descriptive statistics and inferential analysis were conducted with a great deal of care, accuracy, consistency, and objectivity.

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1.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Throughout the fieldwork period, the researcher constantly complied with all the ethical requirements as prescribed by Stellenbosch University's Ethics Committee. The project number 6805 confirms that the Research Ethics Committee (Humanities) reviewed and approved the ethical clearance. The letter of approval is attached (see Appendix G). Permission to gather empirical data through interviews was sought and obtained from all the relevant gatekeepers, namely traditional leadership (the chief and the traditional council), the National Department of Police, political leadership (ward councillor), and heads of households. The nature and purpose of the study were explained in isiZulu (home language) to the participants. The identity and the institutional association of the researcher (doctoral candidate and the university under which this research is conducted) were revealed to the participants. The particulars of the study leaders were also provided to the participants to allay the fears of those who felt a little uncomfortable and wanted to verify the authenticity of the study.

Participation in the study was completely voluntary. The participants were asked to provide written informed consent and those who declined to participate were not forced to do so. The participants were allowed to ask questions before the interviews. The researcher explained before the interviews that participants who felt uncomfortable and wanted to withdraw their participation because of unforeseen circumstances would be allowed to do so without any undue influence. The participants used the language that they spoke fluently. The responses provided by the study participants were treated in a strictly confidential manner. Letters of the alphabet and numbers were used to label and classify the data accordingly. The data were kept securely in a safe place to which only the researcher had access. The passwords used to upload and store data to the computer were known only by the researcher. Nobody else had access to where the data were kept.

All the participants remained anonymous. Each participant was allocated a pseudonym before every interview. The institutions to which they belonged also remained anonymous. This allowed them to express themselves freely without any fear. No costs were incurred by participants since the researcher drove to their places. Other participants were driven back to their places by the researcher. Interviews were conducted in safe places such as the police station's conference room, consultation

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rooms for traditional leaders, and in the office of the ward councillor. Interviews were conducted at a time that was convenient for the participants. There were no disruptions, discomfort, or hurt feelings on the side of the participants. No benefits accrued to the participants for participating in the study. Finally, the participants were informed that the dissemination of the results would be in the form of a completed doctoral thesis, and that the collected data would be kept for five years before being destroyed.

1.11 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The following terms are used frequently in this thesis:

Social capital is based on social networks and trust. Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009:480) define social capital as "a collective asset in the form of shared norms, values, beliefs, trust, networks, social relations, and institutions that facilitate cooperation and collective action for mutual benefits".

Community policing or community-oriented policing (COP) is based on partnerships between the police and communities. Murphy and Muuir (in Seagrave, 1996:5) define community policing as "a recognition and acceptance of the community in influencing the philosophy, management and delivery of police services".

Community Policing Forum (CPF) is the South African version of community policing. Rakgoadi (1995:1) defines it as "a new philosophy, a new set of ethos which form the basis for policing in post-apartheid South Africa".

Trust is generally considered as the confidence that one has that actor A will keep the promises he/she made to actor B. Deutsch (in Muir, 1987:528) defines trust as "the confidence that one will find what is desired from another, rather than what is feared".

Trust-building relates to ways and strategies of how trust is built. Trust has been defined by many writers, yet there is no general agreement on what constitutes trust.

1.12 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 introduced the study and its research orientation. It provided the background and context of the study. It established the need for the research and highlighted the research problem. It highlighted the aim of the study, as well as the

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research questions, research objectives, the rationale, and significance of the study. It explicated the overview of research design and methodology, namely a mixed-methods approach (qualitative and quantitative research). This chapter outlined the data-collection methods that were used, namely structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions. Content analysis and SPSS were employed as the data-analysis methods for quantitative and qualitative data respectively. The chapter highlighted the ethical considerations that guided the researcher in collecting data. The chapter provided the scope of the study and definitions of key concepts.

Chapter 2 is the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter focuses on scholarly arguments pertaining to the evolution and emergence of the social capital concept, classical and contemporary theories, conceptualisation, operationalisation, the building blocks of social capital, and ends with analysing criticism against the social capital concept.

Chapter 3 specifically considers how trust is built in communities. While trust is an essential feature of social capital, the primary objective of Chapter 3 is to evaluate the trust-building process in communities, the character of the trustor (and the trustee), and the factors that undergird trust or the building blocks of trust. The chapter focuses on the relationship between the police and communities. The chapter ends with discussing the theories that undergird the interface between social capital, community policing, trust-building, and crime prevention.

Chapter 4 examines police-community relations from the international perspective. In this chapter, two case studies (the USA and China) are used to evaluate, explicate, and demystify the manner in which community policing was established and how it is conducted. The chapter makes comparisons and draws lessons from the selected case studies and other selected African countries. By evaluating the challenges that these countries experience, the chapter provides a broader framework of how police-community partnerships operate both in theory and practice.

Chapter 5 examines police-community relations in the context of South Africa. The chapter evaluates the history of policing before and after democracy. This is done with the aim of understanding the context within which CPFs were established in South Africa. The chapter also discusses the establishment, the functions, and the challenges of CPFs.

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Chapter 6 highlights the policy and legislative frameworks that underpin social capital and police-community relations. The review of policies and legislation includes the Constitution, White Papers, Acts of parliament, regulations, and national and provincial development strategies and plans. The strategies include social crime prevention strategies at the national, provincial, and local level.

Chapter 7 presents the data without making any value judgments. Because the study used a mixed-methods approach to collect data, a synthesised (combining quantitative and qualitative) version of the data is presented in this chapter. The chapter synthesises different datasets with the ultimate view to ensure cross-validation or corroboration. Descriptive statistics (especially frequencies) in the form of tables are used in this chapter to present the data.

Chapter 8 makes comparisons between theory and practice by making value judgements based on analogies and extrapolations. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse and discuss the data with respect to theory, international best practices, and related policies. While based solely on the research findings, the chapter critically evaluates social capital in KwaXimba by using the level of compliance and level of deviation as the yardsticks. The chapter explicates how social capital can be used to enhance police-community relations. The chapter evaluates the establishment and performance of CPFs, and the relations between CPF members and the police (or vice versa). The chapter also discusses the challenges faced by these role players.

Chapter 9 concentrates on the critical reflections of the study. This chapter provides a summary of the research. The chapter provides the limitations of the study, as well as concluding remarks, and develops a proposed social capital model that could be used to enhance the police-community relations in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. The chapter makes recommendations based on the study's findings. Finally, it identifies areas that can be of crucial importance in future research.

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CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL CAPITAL: FERTILE SOIL FOR GROWING TRUST IN COMMUNITIES

I know that serving others has been a source of inspiration, a source of strength, a reinforcement of faith, and an illustration of my life's purpose – Dr Rachel Talton

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework upon which SCT is constructed. While the preceding chapter briefly discussed the conception of social capital, this chapter ushers in a much broader framework for framing or undergirding the study. Particular reference is made to literature that focuses on social capital. Essential literature includes outlining the evolution of SCT, classical theories, contemporary theories, and dimensions and categories of social capital. Central in such literature are similar and contrasting views regarding the emergence of the conception of social capital. At a conceptual level, myriad critics and divergent views show that social capital is a fiercely contested terrain. At an operational level, scholarly efforts to unearth a universally accepted definition have thus far proven to be elusive and ineffectual. In response, this chapter considers social capital as a valuable asset that can promote and foster relations. This premise is consistent with Woolcock and Narayan's (2000:3) view that social capital can either be a liability or an asset.

Therefore, in the context of this study, an asset is used distinctively alongside trust as basic defining features of SCT. By and large, social capital is perceived as an asset that can be nurtured to promote trust between the police and communities. Against this backdrop, this chapter analyses scholarly arguments on social capital – with particular reference to how social capital builds trust, networks of cooperation, partnerships, and police-community relations. Lastly, social capital is used as a model for building trust in communities and ensuring effective community policing.

2.2 EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AS A DISCIPLINE

The following section uses categories and levels of analysis to outline the conceptual history of social capital.

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2.2.1 How did social capital come into existence?

First and foremost, it is imperative to determine what led to the existence of social capital. The related writings of Edward Bellamy, John Bates Clark, and Karl Marx (in Farr, 2004:9) suggest that social capital came into existence in response to a need to continue where the classical political economists had left off. Initially, classical political economy research only focused on capital (physical or human), and the social dimension was neglected. Capital is traditionally asocial and ahistorical. As a consequence, a need arose to view capital broadly by incorporating the social dimension (Farr, 2004:8). Researchers thus began to examine cooperative associations that bind people together in communities. Henceforth, research also recognised that capital has its "conceptual cousin, community" (Farr, 2004:9). As conceptual cousins, it was necessary to put them together to understand the network of associations, activities, partnerships, and relations that bind people together as a community.

2.2.2 Emergence and conceptual history

Tracing the conceptual history of social capital can be virtually impossible if it is not dissected through tracking a plethora of categories that led to its existence. Being a relatively new concept in the social sciences field that is already hugely contested, scholars began to ponder how and why it grew rapidly within the scientific community (Koniordos, 2008:318). Complicating this further is the degree of uncertainty that is linked to using social capital either as a "term or word(s), or as a concept" (Farr, 2004:9). It is therefore in this context that in the contemporary literature, "term, word(s), and concept" (Farr, 2004:9) are used interchangeably.

The following categories or levels of analysis trace the growth and development of scholarly arguments that have focused primarily on social capital:

- The first category traces the origin in the first quarter of 1900; however, at this juncture, the first users of the term were few and did not know each other (Farr, 2004:7). In particular, 1916 was the first year in which the term emerged in scholarly works (Farr, 2004:7; Fine, 2001:28; Koniordos, 2008:319). It is particularly intriguing to note that since 1916 the concept has been transformed and reformulated (Koniordos, 2008:319). All studies equally attribute the first

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use to Lyda Judson Hanifan. Fine (2001) adds that social capital's first use in the English language world (Western scholarship) is solely attributed to Hanifan, whom he calls a young educator and social reformer. By the same token, Farr (2004) calls Hanifan an obscure rural educator.

- According to Felkins (in Claridge, 2004:6) and Farr (2004:7), the second category captures the writings of scholars such as the social psychologist John R. Seeley (in 1956) and the sociologist Jane Jacobs (in 1961), which focused solely on social capital. Although Koniordos (2008:317-337) does not capture John Seeley's reference to social capital in 1956, he agrees that the term resurfaced in 1961 with Jane Jacobs. By and large, in Felkins' (in Claridge, 2004:6) view, these writings were typically influential in popularising the term.
- The third category consists of the writings of scholars such as Portes (1998:3) and Anderson and Jack (2002:193), who were typically concerned with the first stages of the theory of social capital. Portes (1998:3), in particular, emphasises two crucial analyses as playing a fundamental role in the conceptual history:
  - The first analysis ("Provisional Notes") appeared in French, *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, in 1980 (Portes, 1998:3). However, because this work was produced by a French sociologist (Pierre Bourdieu) using a native language, the work never gained popularity and support in the social sciences, particularly in the English-speaking countries. In essence, its influence on the scientific community was thus minimal and could not garner adequate support to effectively shape the general thinking. Bourdieu's work in the 1980s was influential not merely in terms of conceptualising social capital but in 1985 he also analysed various forms of capital (Koniordos, 2008:319).
  - The second analysis, in Portes' (1998:3) view, came with the economist Glen Loury's writings (in 1977 and 1981). Just like Portes (1998:3), DeFilippis (2001:781-806) regards 1977 as the year in which the concept burgeoned in scholarly works. Koniordos (2008:319) contends that the appearance of the concept in 1977 had a direct impact on the contemporary discussion.
- The fourth category considers the introduction of the concept into the American social sciences. In the American social sciences, James Coleman's writings in 1988 (DeFilippis, 2001:784) were arguably influential in bringing social capital

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to the mainstream. Koniordos (2008:321) singles out Coleman's work that emerged later (after Pierre Bourdieu) in 1987, 1988, and 1990 as being paramount in terms of providing support to university students in the USA.

- The fifth category considers the studies of Alejandro Portes and his associates, which burgeoned in the early 1990s to the early 2000s. The primary objective of these studies was to analyse the massive criticisms that were levelled against the content and usage of social capital. As a consequence, these scholars in the main sought to deconstruct the concept. According to Koniordos (2008:323), influential scholarly interventions in social capital research culminated in the following publications: Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), Portes and Landolt (1996), Portes and Landolt (2000), Portes (1998), Portes (2000), and Portes and Mooney (2002).

It is interesting to note that the writings of many scholars, such as Putnam, Lazega and Pattison, and Bankston III and Zhou (in Claridge, 2004:6), and Koniordos (2008:318), contend that social capital is closely associated with John Stuart Mill, Emille Durkheim, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Tocqueville, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Woolcock (in Farr, 2004:7) identifies traditions of social capital as belonging to Marx, Weber, Simmel, and Durkheim. Consequently, the first emergence of the concept is still largely shrouded in confusion in contemporary scholarly arguments.

However, despite discernible doubts concerning the first usage and emergence of the concept, consensus could be reached that the SCT has been scrutinised and investigated thoroughly in different disciplines. In this regard, influential research thus far is attributed to the following theorists: in the field of economics, Loury (1992:100), sociology, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:119), and political science, Putnam (1993b:167). As social capital research gained popularity across different fields over time, the early 1990s appear to be the pinnacle. Although these scholars have provided influential research in the area of social capital, Fine (2001:28) advances a different view in terms of the intellectual ownership of the concept. Firstly, Fine (2001:28) does this by acknowledging that little care has been taken to recognise James Coleman's contributions in the earlier use other than in name. Secondly, linked to Fine's (2001:28) view is the notion that Coleman was one of the first influential social capitalists of the modern era. In particular, Coleman's writings (1988:102-104; 1990:302) have provided much-needed empirical scrutiny of the concept.

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Furthermore, Coleman's contributions also helped in terms of operationalising the concept.

2.3 CLASSICAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is a concept that has been applied extensively in the social sciences. Its rise to prominence can be epitomised by wide scholarship from different schools of thought. Despite well-known scholarship, the concept continues to be subjected to conflicting interpretations. Although there is a wide range of applications and interpretations, it should be acknowledged that "social network researchers have taken a lead in formalising and empirically testing theories related to the concept of social capital" (Seibert, Kraimer & Liden, 2001:220). The basic focus of social network theorists is the epitome of SCT. By virtue of being a prominent feature in the field, social network theories have come to be construed as the dominant analytical tools through which social capital research can be viewed. This prominence is evidenced by a great deal of attention from the scientific community. Growing interest is further fuelled by a conviction that social capital is the "glue that binds to create a network and also the lubricant that eases and energizes network interaction" (Powell & Smith-Doerr in Anderson & Jack, 2002:193). Social capital can therefore be recognised for promoting and fostering social cohesion in violent, hostile, and crime-ridden areas where communities are socially disorganised (Ramphele, 1991:7). Social capital does this effectively by mediating the relationship between "exogenous structural conditions and neighbourhood crime" (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003:375). It is against this backdrop that the relationship between SCT and crime prevention strategies – particularly community policing – is the focal point of this study.

By the same token, Woolcock and Narayan (2000:6) contend that social capital remains imperative in terms of restoring and building relations between the police and communities. Nevertheless, they warn that for these relations to be built effectively and continuously, networks of cooperation need to be fostered to strengthen ties between the police and communities. Weak social networks are potentially dangerous for the neighbourhood's capacity to control people's behaviour (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003:374; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:7-10). Failure to control behaviour often amounts to chaos, disorder, violence, and crime. This orthodoxy is in accordance with the notion that social capital is crucial for the sustenance of cooperation, reciprocity,

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trust, and collective action (Putnam, 1993a:36). For this reason, it is worth noting that the writings of Seibert *et al.* in 2001 and Berkman and Glass' writings in 2000 (Berkman & Kawachi, 2000:137) employed three vital network theories, namely weak tie theory (WTT), structural hole theory (SHT), and social resource theory (SRT). Their research on theoretical orientations was based on concepts that are used interchangeably but loosely translated. The common denominator in their works is that the scholars sought to find the theories that best explain social capital. The other common denominator in these scholars' work is the consensus that the basic elements of social capital include social networks, social support, social ties, and social integration (Berkman & Glass, 2000:137). The following discussion therefore provides a scrupulous analysis of these classical theories – WTT, SHT, and SRT – as discussed by Seibert *et al.* (2001:220) and Berkman and Glass (2000:137).

Firstly, the WTT postulates that "distant and infrequent relationships (i.e., weak ties) are efficient for knowledge sharing because they provide access to novel information by bridging otherwise disconnected groups and individuals in an organisation" (Granovetter in Hansen, 1999:1). The first introduction of the WTT can be traced to Granovetter's writings in 1973 (Hansen, 1999:1). The WTT has been used extensively in social capital research. Its main focus is on social networks and face-to-face interaction and how these can be developed to keep communities united. The idea is that the integration of networks allows communities to work together. Networks create a pattern of ties that consist of tight-knit clusters (Friedkin, 1980:411). When people are connected, they generate mutual benefits (Burt, 2000:347). Nevertheless, critics argue that although the WTT is evidenced by wide scholarship from the scientific community, its strength is largely questionable (Friedkin, 1980:411).

Secondly, the SHT presents an alternative view to the social capital argument (Walker, Kogut & Shan, 1997:109). The SHT is unique in the sense that it emphasises open rather than closed networks (Burt, 1992:9). The SHT argues that weaker connections in groups are holes in the social structure in the market (Burt, 2000:348). Holes are also created by conflicting affiliations in a given society. Burt (2000:353) further maintains that

> [s]tructural holes create a competitive advantage for an individual whose relationships span across holes. The structural hole between two groups does not mean that people in the groups are unaware of one another. It only means

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> that the people are focused on their own activities such that they do not attend to the activities of people in the other group.

This allows structural holes to be defined as buffers and/or as opportunities to broker the information between people. The SHT is opposed to network closure wherein all people in one group are closely connected to each other. In the closed network environment, the information stays in a group and cannot be secretly leaked to anyone outside the group. Coleman (in Burt, 2000:351) emphasises that network closure facilitates sanctions that make it less risky for people in the network to trust one another. Norms of trust need to be built among group members in order to ensure a cohesive group.

Consequently, the SRT is similar to the SHT in terms of emphasising ties and access to resources. To this end, Lin (1982:131-145) argues that in the SRT, valued resources in most societies are represented by wealth, power, and status. The availability and the unavailability of social capital are determined by the individual's indirect and/or direct access to these resources.

Conversely, the social network theory's (SNT) attributes position it as a distinct contemporary analytical tool of social capital. Its comparative advantage is that its propositions are able to describe the contemporary use of social networks. The SNT argues that social cohesion, social integration, and social ties can be enhanced if social networks are nurtured and developed. The SNT is an attempt to understand the behaviour of individuals within society. Although the roots of the SNT are not well known, Berkman and Glass (2000:140) contend that it can be traced to Barnes' (1954) and Bott's (1957) early inquiry into social networks (Berkman & Glass, 2000:140). The concept of social networks, in Barnes' and Bott's views, was developed as a framework to logically analyse ties that cut across traditional kinship, residential, and class groups (Berkman & Glass, 2000:140). The SNT puts the individual at the epicentre of entire sets of networks. The SNT considers the relations between individuals, and models society as constituted of networks made up of sets of relations or ties between the nodes (Williams & Durrance, 2008:1).

The SNT is based on four basic principles, namely "independence of actors; relations or ties in the flow or transfer of resources; the constraining and/or enabling of individual actors by networks; and the generation of long-lasting ties and networks by social

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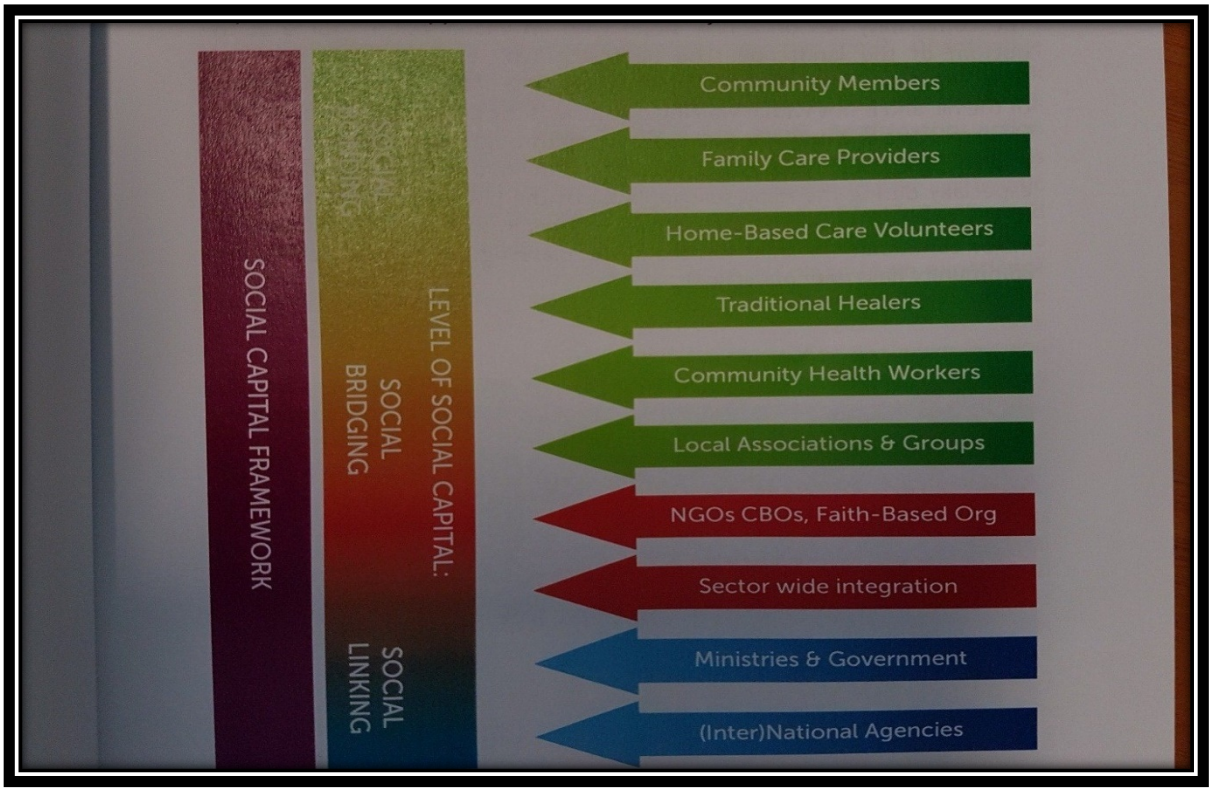
structures" (Wasserman & Faust in Williams & Durrance, 2008:1). The SNT mitigates against studying any single relationship in isolation from the network of which it is part. This is because the relationship between two actors is the building block of a network, but is itself conditioned by the network. In the SNT, the actors are defined as individuals, groups, companies, or even countries. The central point of departure is that the relationship and/or tie is a flow of resources that can be material or non-material (Wasserman & Faust in Williams & Durrance, 2008:1). The strength of the SNT is that it is based on the testable assumption that the social structure of the network itself is largely responsible for determining individual behaviour and attitudes by shaping the flow of resources that determine access to opportunities and constraints on behaviour (Berkman & Glass, 2000:140-141). Figure 2.1 depicts the flow of relations between organisations, individuals, and groups as discussed in the theories.

Figure 2.1: Social capital framework



Source: Sliep (in Dageid *et al*., 2011:9)

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2.3.1 Similarities and differences

On the one hand, the similarities that stand out in social network theories include the notion that all theories are based on networks and resources and how these can be used to foster relations. The theories also draw from the writings of Granovetter in 1973 (Hansen, 1999). On the other hand, the WTT is mainly concerned with distant relationships, while SHT is concerned with closed networks. After evaluating the propositions and the criticisms levelled against these approaches, the SNT appears to be the most suited for this study, although it is not immune to challenges. Its focus and description of the relationship between variables cut across all the other approaches.

2.4 CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital means different things to different people. The social scientists are inexorably grappling with this practical reality, although there is ever-expanding research on social capital (see Putnam, 1993b:167; Bourdieu, 1986:248; Coleman, 1988:102) in the social sciences. Lack of uniformity could be linked partly with the concept's increasingly diverse roots and intellectual history (Adam & Rončević in Claridge, 2004:6). Even so, diversified roots cannot be the only major philosophical problem associated with the concept, but its multi-layered, multi-dimensional, and/or trans-disciplinary nature has the potential to make it susceptible to diverse and elusive definitions (Lau & Ataguba, 2015:2).

Correspondingly, Dasgupta (2000:333) points out that the considerable debate over the meaning of social capital is largely the result of differing hypotheses and theories used by various researchers when embarking on research. The resulting implication, according to Portes (1998:2), is that the concept has unwittingly lost its original meaning and heuristic value because of different applications by different fields. In this regard, a tendency has been that every researcher perpetually seeks to use a meaning that might be directly related to his/her line of thinking. Thus, in view of ambiguities fuelled by the multiplicity of definitions, divergent views have perpetually weakened attempts to unearth common understanding of the concept.

For this reason, social scientists involved in social capital research are now grappling with the objective operationalisation of the concept. Although an extensive number of

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scholarly arguments (see Bourdieu, 1986:248; Coleman, 1988:102-104; Fukuyama, 2001:7; Putnam, 1993b:167) have been produced using different conceptualisations, contemporary research shows that social capital continues to remain an essentially contested concept. During varied contestations, the conception of social capital has increasingly become a "mixture of functionalist, critical and rational theoretical traditions" (Tzanakis, 2013:2). Inevitably, this mixture unwittingly compromises the scientific search for a widely accepted definition. Accordingly, Coleman (1988:102-104; 1990:302) concurs that it is difficult to gain an understanding of social capital partly because, in the main, the concept is an outcome of a series of personal relations and networks of relations. The only common denominator among these relations is the shared interest to generate trust and common norms. Research shows that several proposals destined to acquire a proper conception of social capital have had far-reaching consequences not only for emerging but also established social scientists both at individual and aggregate level. Firstly, social scientists have frequently and unconsciously run the risk of "referring to manifestations of social capital rather than social capital itself" (Fukuyama, 2001:7). This not only fails to capture the original essence of the theory, but also weakens the thematic thrust and raises questions about the practicality of the theory.

Secondly, Lin (2005:2) warns that "multiple definitions, conceptualisations, and empirical measurements … undermine and bring its downfall as a rigorous scientific concept". Therefore, social scientists are perpetually grappling to unearth an operational definition of the term because it is often used in "different contexts and different events, with distinct meaning" (Portes, 1998:2). Conversely, Bankston III and Zhou (2002:286) are opposed to the notion that difficulties in defining social capital are a result of wide application in different contexts. Rather, Bankston III and Zhou (2002:286) hold the view that such difficulties could be attributed to philosophical confusion of language. Inevitably, an arbitrary definition partly explains what prompted Fukuyama (2001:7) in the seminal study *Social capital, civil society and development* to define social capital as the "instantiated informal norm that promotes co-operation between two or more individuals". This lends credence to the fact that defining social capital is riddled with inconsistencies in contemporary research.

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2.4.1 Defining social capital

In view of the debate, Whiteley (2000:448) and Lopez and Stack (2001:31) contend that social capital possesses a *civic virtue* and *value* that potentially strengthen social connections and deepen the norms of trust. By the same token, Fukuyama (2001:7) concurs that social capital can be recognised for its ability to provide a solid foundation for liberal democracy and modern economies. Fukuyama's (2007) proposition not only evokes confusion shrouded in the elusiveness of discovering basic elements of social capital but is also a useful step in proposing a fairly broad but comprehensive definition of the concept. As such, it could be argued that although there is a surge of opposing views in contemporary scholarly arguments regarding the comprehensive definition of social capital, Coleman (1990:302) provides a somewhat compelling argument that "social capital refers to the set of resources that inhere in relationships of trust and cooperation between people". Not surprisingly, many contemporary scholars (Garcia & Tierney, 2011:2748; Maram, 2009:5; Tierney & Hallett, 2012:49) have found Coleman's (1990) definition more relevant in their studies.

Similar to Coleman (1990:302), Bourdieu's (1986:248) view provides a similarly compelling argument that gives direction to defining the concept when he argues that social capital is "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition". A myriad of scholars (Hazleton & Kennan, 2000:81-86; Hulbert, Beggs & Haines, 2001:209; Maak, 2007:329-343; Portes, 1998:45) have also embraced and operationalised this definition. Arguably, this huge following exemplifies the prominence of Coleman and Bourdieu's role in the conceptualisation of social capital. More importantly, what can be deduced from these different but interrelated definitions is that trust, social norms, resources, reciprocity, and cooperation between people are the basic elements and/or the thematic thrust of social capital. In this context, Aguilar and Sen (2009:425) argue that "social capital is not just the sum of the institutions underpinning a society; it is rather simply the glue that holds the individual members of a society together". Using Aguilar and Sen's (2009:425) analysis, one could argue that the definition defines what social capital does, not what it means, as argued by Fukuyama (2001:7). Table 2.1 provides a critical analysis of definitions by various scholars.

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Table 2.1: Definitions of social capital

External versus internal	Authors	Definitions
External	Baker	"… a resource that actors derive from specific social structures to pursue their interests, it is created by changes in the relationship among actors" (1990:619).
	Belliveau, O'Reilly & Wade	"… an individual's personal network and elite institutional affiliations" (1996:1576).
	Bourdieu	"… the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (1986:248).
	Bourdieu & Wacquant	"… the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (1992:119).
	Boxman, De Graaf & Flap	"… the number of people who can be expected to provide support and the resources those people have at their disposal" (1991:52).
	Burt	"… friends, colleagues, and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital" (1992:9).
	Knoke	"… the process by which social actors create and mobilize their network connections within and between organizations to gain access to other social actors" (1999:18).
	Portes	"… the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (1998:6).
Internal	Brehm & Rahn	"… the web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitate resolution of collective action problems" (1997:999).
	Coleman	"… social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (1990:302).
	Fukuyama	"… the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations" (1995:10).
	Inglehart	"… a culture of trust and tolerance, in which extensive networks of voluntary associations emerge" (1997:188).
	Portes & Sensenbrenner	"… those expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behaviour of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere" (1993:1323).
	Putnam	"… features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (1996:87).
	Thomas	"… those voluntary means and processes developed within civil society which promote development for the collective whole" (1996:11).
Both	Loury	"… naturally according social relationships among persons which promote or assist the acquisition of skills and traits valued in the marketplace … an asset which may be as significant as financial bequests in accounting for the maintenance of inequality in our society" (1992:100).
	Nahapiet & Ghoshal	"… the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network" (1998:243).
	Pennar	"… the web of social relationships that influences individual behaviour and thereby affects economic growth" (1997:154).
	Schiff	"… the set of elements of the social structure that affects relations among people and are inputs or arguments of the production and/or utility function" (1992:160).
	Woolcock	"… the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks" (1998:153).

Source: Adler and Kwon (2002:20)

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To validate the fundamental meaning of the concept, it is appropriate to draw from Putnam's writings on the definition. Putnam's (1993b:167) view is that social capital refers to "features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions".

Since this study considers social capital as a trust-building model between the police and communities, Putnam's (1993b:167) definition of social capital, alongside Loury's (1992) definition – who emphasises "asset" (see Table 2.1), is therefore in accordance with the basic elements of the study because it is based on partnerships and trust. Although this conception unwittingly mixes different but closely related elements, the most important aspect of social capital that stands out in this regard is trust. This is not to say, however, that other theorists (Bourdieu, 1986:248; Coleman, 1990:302) did not make reference to trust. As emphasised by Whiteley (2000:448), social capital involves the willingness to trust others. This study understands social capital as an asset that can build trust and foster good relations between the police and communities. Trust-building between the police and communities is seen as a vital strategy for ensuring crime prevention, crime reduction, and crime management. According to Tocqueville and Mill (in Foley & Edwards, 2001:227), trust ordinarily gives rise to reciprocity and shared forms of cooperation. Putnam's (1993b:167) definition seems to be contextually relevant for this study, and the use of social capital throughout this study mostly (albeit not limited to) refers to the elements that he assessed.

2.4.2 Defining the capital part of social capital

Contemporary scholarship of the SCT lends credence to the fact that defining capital can be primarily perceived as a precursor to understanding the building blocks of social capital. Social capital in this context is typically perceived as either social (Roberts, 2004:471-472) or as capital (Robison *et al*. in Claridge, 2004:9). As a consequence, a vast majority of scholarly arguments (Claridge, 2004:9; Fine, 2001:25-26; Law & Mooney, 2006:127-143; Lin, 2005:3) strongly hold the view that an appropriate conceptualisation of social capital could best be determined by an appropriate conceptualisation of the term "capital". These scholarly arguments aptly attest to the fact that if the concept of social capital is not broken down conscientiously, it is bound to present definitional problems and measurement issues. Various reasons

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have been advanced earlier on regarding this orthodoxy. Fine (2001:25-26) contends that a careful examination of social capital should first dissect capital because social capital "seeks to integrate economic with non-economic analysis or at least for the two to complement one another".

Nonetheless, the term "capital" has been used extensively in economics. Just like other terms, its incessant use is also loosely translated. Capital is therefore also a fiercely contested term, with different people understanding it differently. However, despite considerable debate regarding its conceptualisation, Lin (2001:3) believes that to find the meaning of social capital, it is imperative to first come to terms with what capital means. This is in line with Claridge's (2004:9) view that it is not fair to make reference to capital in isolation from social capital. Claridge (2004:9) is of the view that capital exists in social conditions and is thus inextricably linked with social capital. Analysing capital using Marx's views, Lin (2001:3) is of the view that capital emerges from social relations and therefore cannot be taken out of that context.

Amid a myriad of definitional conundrums, Lin (2001:3) defines capital in the economic sense as an investment of resources with expected returns in the market place. In the same breath, Marx's (in Lin, 2001:3-4) point of view associates the term "capital" with economic dimensions. Marx (in Lin, 2001:3-4) places the notion of capital under the classic theory of capital. To start with, economists often use the term "capital" in different ways. However, despite the wide usage of the term, the common denominator is that the term is largely used with reference to exchanges for money in order to make profit (Lin, 2001:3-4). Citing Marx's views, Lin (2001:3-4) further argues that both investment and profit are in the hands of capitalists. The capitalists in this context are the main beneficiaries of capital because they occupy the upper class, while the lower class and poor citizens are the main losers. Added to this view, capitalists are those who own the means of production. This view traditionally holds true especially in countries wherein capitalism, free market, and liberal democracies are fully fledged and functional. Fine (2001:33) traditionally negates the notion of placing strong emphasis on economic sense when defining capital. Instead, Fine (2001) deliberately suggests that capital is social in an extremely complex and varied set of ways. In the main, this implies that the mere usage of economic sense only demonstrates a narrow understanding of what really constitutes capital. Bourdieu (in Fine, 2001:55) makes an

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important distinction between several capitals that exist in society, namely economic, cultural, and symbolic:

> … economic capital is simply seen as the resources … Cultural capital is marked by socially but differentially recognised and constructed qualifications, not least those formally given by education but also other forms of social attainment to which rank might be attached. Symbolic capital is represented by prestige, as in honour.

2.4.3 Contextualising human capital in a social capital discourse

Through the lens of a neo-capital perspective (see Table 2.1), human capital is also crucial in defining social capital. Although it focuses on the individual, its influence on SCT is currently deemed profound, largely because the individual exists among other individuals. Using this equation, the influence of one individual is typically felt by other individuals. Although not much scholarly support could be found to support this claim, human capital's intellectual roots are largely traced to the writings of Adam Smith in 1937 (in Kiker, 1966:488). The central premise regarding the inclusion of human capital in a capital discussion is that the knowledge and skills of the individual have economic value. Lin (2001:9) defines human capital "as the value added to a labourer when the labourer acquires knowledge, skills, and other assets useful to the employer or firm in the production and exchange processes".

According to Bourdieu (in Fine, 2001:55), social capital's place is one strictly focused on the extent of social connections or networks. Most importantly, a careful consideration of Bourdieu's and Marx's views reveals that capital is not always about making profit. Analysing the inherent link between social capital and capital, Lin (2001:9) asserts that social capital has emerged as one of the most salient forms of capital. There is, however, divergent views and perspectives regarding this because social capital ordinarily exists in different contexts and different settings. Table 2.2 indicates the different theorists who have attempted to define capital from different schools of thought.

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Table 2.2: Theories of capital

	The classical theory	The neo-classical theories Human capital, cultural capital, and social capital			
Theorist	Marx	Schultz, Becker	Bourdieu	Lin, Burt, Marsden, Flap, Coleman	Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam
Explanation	Social relations: Exploitation by the capitalists (bourgeoisie) of the proletariat	Accumulation of surplus value by labourer	Reduction of dominant symbols and meanings (values)	Access to and use of resources embedded in social networks	Solidarity and reproduction of group
Capital	A. Part of surplus value between the use value (in consumption market) and the exchange value (in production-labour market) of the commodity. B. Investment in the production and circulation of commodities	Investment in technical skills and knowledge	Internationalisation or misrecognition of dominant values	Investment in social networks	Investment in mutual recognition and acknowledgement
Level of analysis	Structural (classes)	Individual	Individual/class	Individual	Group/individual

Source: Lin (1999:28-51)

2.4.4 Defining the social part of social capital

Although they are largely considered to be intertwined, the terms “social” and “capital” must be discussed separately. Fine (2001:33) earlier shed important light on dissecting SCT. What appears to have stood out in his analysis is that “capital” is “social” in complex ways. In view of this analysis, it is crucial to describe what constitutes “social” in a social capital discourse. Social studies have shown that it is difficult to describe what constitutes “social”. This difficulty is mostly attributed to conflicting conceptual ideas, and strong ideological divergence in both political and educational philosophy (Nelson, 2001:16). “Social” is also a very broad concept that needs to be delimited in any given research. However, in describing what “social” constitutes, it is important to discuss the social identities and/or the characteristics of being “social”. Social identity theory is used to dissect “social” aspects in the social capital discourse.

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Ashforth and Mael (1989:20-21) provide an in-depth analysis of the social identity theory. For instance, they argue that people tend to classify themselves into various social categories.

More often than not, these categories are traditionally determined by gender, organisational membership, affiliation, and age. Obviously, the common denominators among these classifications are the shared characteristics that are used to define group membership. These groupings basically serve two purposes: they help to define others and they help the individual to locate himself/herself in a social environment (Ashforth & Mael, 1989:20-21). It becomes inevitable that bodily attributes, psychological traits, and abilities are very salient in ensuring group identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989:21). According to this classification, an individual can either see himself/herself (social identification) as one or as belonging to a group (group identification). It can therefore be deduced that an individual identifies himself/herself with a group that has similar abilities and characteristics and where he/she feels more comfortable. The following discussion deliberates on the importance of resources and how they are linked with social capital.

2.4.5 The importance of resources in the social capital discourse

A balanced view of classical and contemporary theories of social capital suggests that there are two theoretical models that underpin the concept of social capital. The social capital discourse is underpinned by a neo-Marxist and a neo-liberalist perspective. While the neo-Marxist perspective traditionally relates to issues analysed at length by Bourdieu (1986:248), the neo-liberalist perspective is associated with issues relating to access to resources and power. Therefore, social capital not only involves personal relations and networks, but also a host of resources. In the context of resources, Coleman (1990:302) and Putnam (1993b:167) aptly define social capital as the features of social structures that include, but are not limited to, interpersonal levels of trust and norms of reciprocity and mutual aid. These social structures, in their view, act as resources for individuals. Furthermore, such social structures also help to facilitate collective action.

The mere mention of the word “resources” also further complicates the definitional issues. The term “resources” is understood differently by different people. Central to

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the purposes of this study is the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (2002:2) argument that resources are too diverse and often contradictory because they may mean "natural capital, economic capital, human capital and institutional capital". To this end, Lin (2001:55) defines resources as "valued goods in a society, however consensually determined, the possession of which maintains and promotes an individual's self-interest for survival and preservation". Lin (2001:55) further mentions that there are two different types of resources, namely *ascribed* resources and *other* resources. Lin (2001:55) states that *ascribed* resources "are those one is born with, such as gender and race, while *other* resources are prescribed by inheritance, such as caste and sometimes religion, and may include parental resources". Resources, in this context, feature prominently in the manner in which the individual interacts with other individuals. As a result, the conception of resources is also crucial in defining social capital.

2.5 THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

2.5.1 Local/public participation

Local/public participation plays a pivotal role in social capital building. For example, a study conducted by Casieri, Nazzaro and Roselli (2010) in Italy clearly showed that encouraging and facilitating local/public participation is central to building social capital and trust. In this regard, social capital was mainly perceived as a synergy of collective capacity arising from connections and relationships (trust) and behaviours (participation in associations and/or informal interactions with others) (Hays & Kogl, 2007:183). This could effectively be done through the involvement of the local population in solving social problems on various fronts such as economic, political, and social. To this end, it is crucial to accentuate that harnessing the involvement of the local population typically serves two purposes, namely it helps greatly in terms of increasing social cohesion and empowering previously disadvantaged groups (Hays & Kogl, 2007:182). Based on this theoretical standpoint, it is thus befitting to pay closer attention to Casieri, Nazzaro and Roselli (2010:24), who specifically examined the effectiveness and efficiency of a strategy called Local Action Groups (LAGs). The LAGs were used instrumentally to accelerate and expedite the implementation of Local Development Plans in Italy. As such, the Italian experience showed that the LAGs succeeded in involving local people. This, in turn, augured well for the creation of social

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capital. Casieri *et al*.'s (2010:24) study confirms that involving local people can serve as a precursor and/or a conducive environment for sustainable development plans and social capital building. In line with participation's dominance in development theories, Casieri *et al*. (2010:24) specifically placed more emphasis on the participation of local people. Consequently, this is also in accordance with the trust-building process where local people are also expected to participate in public institutions.

2.5.2 Ingredients of social capital

In accordance with the notion of involving local populations, Lappe and Du Bois (1997:122-125) state categorically that there are three ingredients of social capital that are essential to making citizens become co-problem solvers in their respective communities. These ingredients are *hope*, *real opportunities for citizen engagement*, and *new public life skills* among citizens. Firstly, *hope* is seen as the motivator that pushes people to become involved in addressing problems. *Real opportunities for engagement* is considered the second ingredient of social capital (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997:122-125). When people participate in problem solving, it creates community bonds. This, in turn, means that citizens need to be given an opportunity to develop *new public life skills* in order to participate meaningfully. However, citizens may not take advantage of these opportunities if they are not capacitated. In this context, the Kenyan experience proved that people cannot make a meaningful difference if they are not trained (Machuki, 2015:15). Capacity-building programmes can therefore be initiated to improve citizens' active listening, creative conflict, mediation, negotiation, and evaluation skills, and so on (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997:122-125). These skills are not merely crucial for solving social problems, they also increase participation.

2.5.3 Community gatherings

While the brief discussion above focused largely on political participation and involvement in policymaking, regular community gatherings are in the main perceived as formidable building blocks of social capital. Community gatherings create a space where members of the community can gather to discuss family problems, share information, and help one another in all aspects of life (be it work-related, children-related, or medical issues). When there is sharing of ideas, a relationship of trust,

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communication, and interaction, social capital is built (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005:481). This does not end by discussing problems, but a gathering has the potential to greatly facilitate stronger ties and cliques between friends and acquaintances (Colclough & Sitaraman, 2005:481). Consequently, it is also crucial to accentuate that the community does not just gather unconsciously and willy-nilly, but in most cases there are unifying factors such as common interest, history, ethnicity, religion, and culture that serve to pull people together (Pigg & Crank, 2004:60). These factors, in turn, reinforce community bonds. Lastly, community gatherings often create a favourable environment for collective identity (a source of reciprocity), which, in turn, serves as a panacea for social problems. For example, sport events bring people together and contribute vastly to building social capital (Zhou and Kaplanidou, 2018:491).

2.5.4 Government and civil society partnerships

Effective partnerships built between public institutions and civil society organisations are essential to building social capital. There are roles, guidelines, and responsibilities that lay a foundation for this partnership. In principle, civil society has a strong influence in terms of pulling together the members of the community and sensitising them about possible solutions to problems (Lappe & Du Bois, 1997:120). This is largely done in the spirit of pressuring the government to phase out inept, irresponsible, irregular, and unaccountable practices. However, in discharging these responsibilities, civil society mainly acts as an oversight body. Reinforcing partnerships between the government and civil society can also be achieved through decentralisation of powers (a practice that is common in community policing in developed and developing countries). Decentralising powers often creates a space for the sharing of autonomy between local government and citizens (Crocker, Potapchuck & Schechter in Warner, 2001:189). In this regard, it is argued that the best way to fast-track and open up service delivery is where the state shifts fundamentally from being a controller and regulator to being a facilitator of development plans (Crocker *et al.* in Warner, 2001:189). According to Warner (2001:189), promoting community-level social capital requires a state to create a facilitative and participatory environment in order to make citizens feel valued. Finally, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are also crucial in terms of building linkages that extend beyond local communities

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(horizontal ties). Warner (2001:190) maintains that NGOs facilitate collaborative projects between the government and community. This, in turn, facilitates the promotion of social capital.

2.5.5 Social networks: Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, YouTube, and Instagram

The 21st century lends credence to the fastest-growing technological innovations. Given the ever-increasing innovations, the modern era has created an environment where social capital's growth is inextricably linked to regular interactions, and a host of relationships and networks, information technology, and communication (Ellison *et al*., 2007:1143). Therefore, it is not surprising that given the rapid advances in communications technology, the aforementioned technologies (social networking sites/platforms) have drastically facilitated communication channels around the world. These communications technologies are essential for social capital building because they serve as "platforms on which people can share ideas, experiences, and opinions" (Jin, 2013:162). Jin (2013) further maintains that social media supplements the traditional media by providing communication via technology.

2.6 WHY IS SOCIAL CAPITAL AN ACADEMIC FIELD OF STUDY?

To begin with, it is crucial to note that this field of study is concerned with the notion of solving social problems through collective action. As such, this notion is in accordance with the scientific nature of social capital in the sense that, in the main, social capital is concerned with the collective (neighbourhood, community, and society) to which the individual belongs (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000:174). To this end, the study of social capital is concerned with features that unite and bind individuals at different layers of society. Kawachi and Berkman's (2000) writing on social capital is worth noting in three ways: firstly, they argue that social capital is social in that it is external to the individual. Secondly, they also argue that social capital is a public good in that it brings about collective effort and non-excludability in consumption. Thirdly, they further argue that social capital arises as a by-product of social relationships (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000:176-177).

While Kawachi and Berkman (2000) argue that social capital is external to the individual, their views can be criticised in circumstances under which the individual is

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not cooperating with or reciprocating to the neighbourhood, community, and society at large. Nonetheless, their perspective shows that social capital can effectively flourish and grow in an environment where people show great willingness to work together; whereas in a deeply divided, socially disorganised, and crime-ridden society, social capital is somehow compromised. Using this analysis, it can be argued that Kawachi and Berkman's (2000:176-177) argument is related to Mill's (2013:258) utilitarianism approach in that it touches on issues of values, ethics, and morality. In Mill's (in Shafer-Landau, 2013:258) view, the individual's actions are supposed to bring about the greatest happiness to the greatest number of people. Fine (2001:157) also points out that social capital is good and is sometimes good for the economy. More importantly, Fine (2001:157) further analyses the ideas propagated by social capital:

> Social capital tends to be seen in terms of two broad effects, each with a positive and a negative side. Intrinsically, it is good but it can be bad if it is improperly used or is exclusive. Extrinsically, it can complement the market but it can also obstruct it. Essentially, social capital is nepotism…

Moreover, Fine (2001:157) contends that social capital can prevent crime and violence. It is mainly this reason why social capital's responses to crime captures the essence of this study. Fine's (2001) analysis is rather crucial for the readers of SCT because it dissects the concept impartially and provides the circumstances wherein social capital can be useful and wherein it cannot. At the same time, Kawachi and Berkman's (2000:175) argument might be accorded the same status as it goes beyond and is inextricably linked to the famous sociologist Emile Durkheim's social cohesion argument. While traditionally considered as a founding father of sociology, Durkheim's analysis proved to be imperative to recognising the relationship between social cohesion and social capital. Social cohesion entails solid connectedness and solidarity among groups in any given society. In Durkheim's view, a cohesive society is characterised by mutual moral support, which instead of leaving the individual to his/her own resources, leads him/her to share in the collective energy and supports his/her own when exhausted (Durkheim in Kawachi & Berkman, 2000:175). It is thus worth noting that Kawachi and Berkman's (2000) work that links social capital and social cohesion is drawn largely from Durkheim's work.

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2.7 FOUR VIEWS ON SOCIAL CAPITAL

2.7.1 The communitarian view

Whilst closely linked with Mill's (1879:8-9) and Kawachi and Berkman's (2000:176-177) argument on public good, the communitarian view "equates social capital with local level organizations, namely associations, clubs, and civic groups" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:6). This view typically measures the nature and extent of social capital in groups and organisations that exist in society and then reaches the same conclusion as Kawachi and Berkman (2000) that social capital is good. It also reaches the conclusion that the presence of social capital has a positive effect on the community's welfare (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:6). The communitarian perspective literally means that even if people are extremely poor, there is always a social benefit among them, namely oneness, collective responsibility, and the fact that they need one another. This perspective further maintains that the community must strive for a common goal and must seek to advance common interests. It is in this instance that common goals are required in order to resolve social problems.

2.7.2 The networks view

Secondly, the networks view emerged largely in response to the concerns that were raised regarding social capital being a one-sided theory. In Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) point of view, the networks view specifically accounts for both "the upside" and "the downside" of social capital. Again, not only does this view account for the shortfalls, but it is also closely linked with the central premise for network theorists. The networks view holds that vertical and horizontal associations between people and relations within and among other organisational entities such as community groups and firms are extremely crucial. The view recognises that intra-community (or strong) ties are desperately needed to give families a sense of identity and common purpose (Astone *et al*. in Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:7). Furthermore, the view also recognises that inter-community (or weak) ties that cut across different ethnic, religious, gender, race, and socioeconomic status (that is, horizontal ties) can become the source of sectarian interests (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:7). Traditionally, combining intra-community and inter-community ties has come to be construed in scholarly arguments as bonding and bridging forms of social capital.

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2.7.3 The institutional view

Thirdly, although deeply embedded in intra- and inter-community ties, the institutional view transcends the ties. The institutional view basically argues that it is extremely crucial to note that community networks and civil society are the product of the political, legal, and institutional environment (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000:11). While the two previous views seem to regard social capital as an independent variable, the institutional view regards social capital as a dependent variable. Accordingly, this view further notes that although there are many groups in communities, enhancing their capacity and honing their skills depend on the quality of the institutions under which they operate and find themselves. The same goes for the level of trust among organisations. Organisations trust one another if they all perform their duties optimally. This layer emphasises the importance of civic virtue and value that emerge as a result of close cooperation between government organisations and NGOs.

2.7.4 The synergy view

Finally, Woolcock and Narayan (2000:11) acknowledge the importance of the synergy view in the social capital literature. This view integrates the networks and institutional camps. The view emphasises that for a development process to take place effectively and expeditiously, there must be strong “synergies” between all the actors involved. The actors might include, but are not limited to, government institutions, civil society, professional bodies, think tanks, and universities. This synergy can be built solidly through sustaining professional alliances that share a common vision and common purpose. According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000:11-12), such a conclusion is drawn partly because no one possesses the resources needed to promote broad-based, sustainable development. As a result, complementarities and partnerships forged both within and across these different sectors are required. It is further argued in this context that although the state must play a leading role in bringing about development processes, its role in development is always problematic.

2.8 THREE CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

A wealth of research in social capital is typically concerned with the following categories: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. These categories seek to draw

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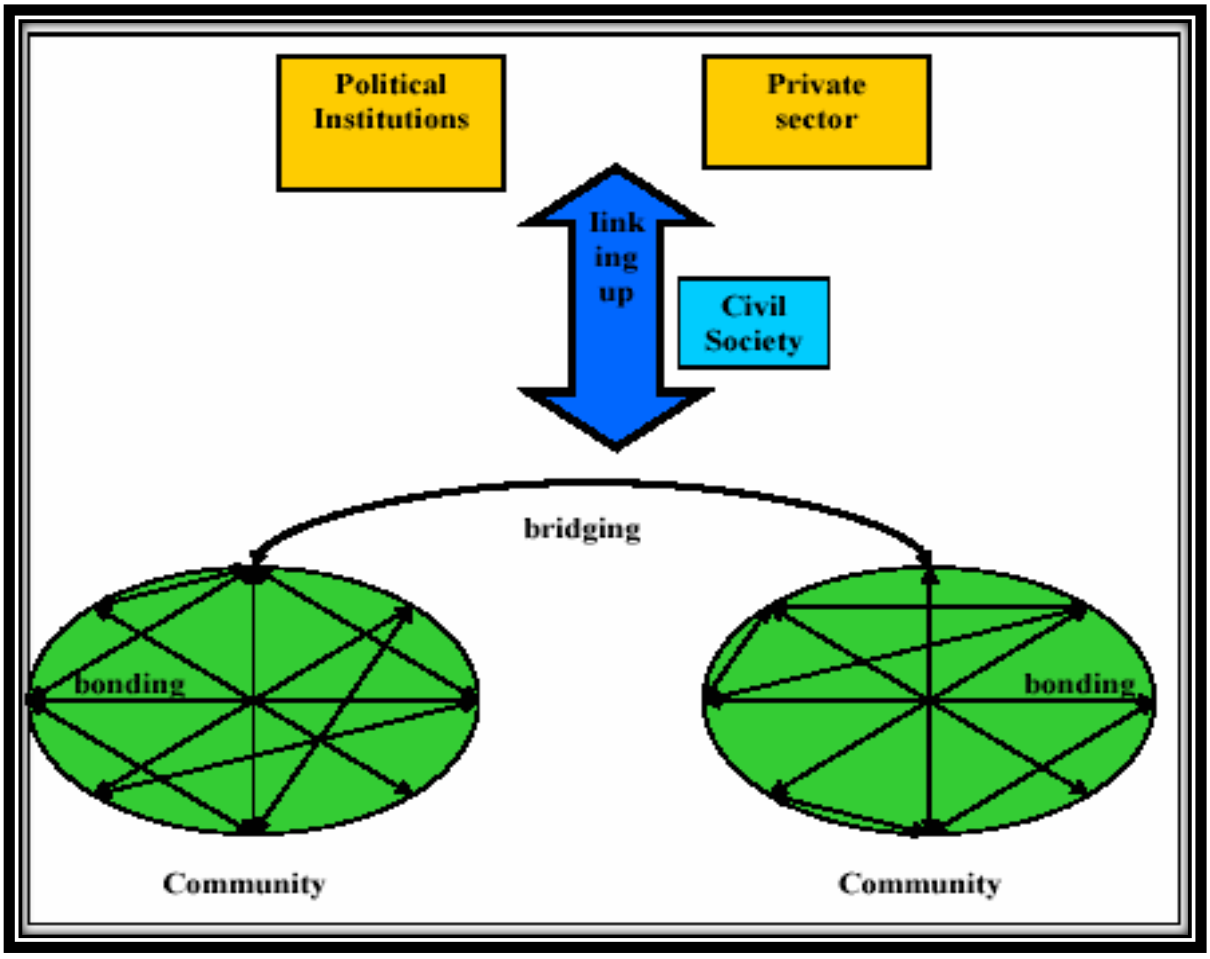
a distinction because social capital is a multifaceted concept (Dasgupta & Serageldin, 1999:ix-xii). Putnam (2000:19) in this context compares three social capitals; he argues that bonding social capital is good for "getting by", while bridging is good for "getting ahead". Linking social capital is concerned primarily with relations between individuals and groups. Bonding and bridging are concepts that were first introduced by Gittell and Vidal (1998:15). Furthermore, it is also argued that bonding and bridging social capital resonates with Granovetter's (1983) ideas of "strong ties" and "weak ties" (Dahal & Adhikari, 2008:4). O'Brien, Phillips and Patsiorkovsky (2005:1042) argue that it is quite important to make a distinction among the social capital categories because there are *inclusive* and *exclusive* forms of social capital. It is therefore quite important to discuss the categories of social capital at length. The categories emerged in response to a considerable debate over the form that social capital takes. Figure 2.2 illustrates an interplay of social capitals.

Figure 2.2: The vertical and horizontal dimensions of social capital



Source: Gomulia (2006:55)

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2.8.1 Bonding social capital

The bonding level of social capital is concerned with links to people that are often based on a sense of shared responsibility and common identity. In other words, bonding social capital refers to relations among relatively homogenous groups such as a family, close friends, and people who share a common history, common ancestry, common culture, and/or ethnicity. Putnam (in Kay & Johnston, 2007:24) mentions ethnic fraternal organisations and women's groups in churches as classic examples of bonding social capital. At the bonding level, Hawkins and Maurer's (2010:1778) seminal study on natural disasters provides a classic example of this level when they contend that families often come together to strategise and develop a plan of action prior to a hurricane. In such meetings, families tend to agree on how to support one another physically and emotionally during a hurricane. This typically lends credence to the notion that bonding social capital is crucial for the development of local reciprocity, solidarity, and particularised trust (Babaei, Ahmad & Gill, 2012:120). If there is solidarity, resources are mobilised for a common purpose.

2.8.2 Bridging social capital

The bridging level of social capital is concerned with links that are not only limited to close friends and family members but also that go beyond that. Bridging social capital appears as an opposite of bonding partly because it refers to relations among relatively heterogeneous groups such as distant friends, colleagues, and associates. This basically brings together people from diverse divisions. Putnam (in Babaei *et al*. 2012:120) emphasises that the uniqueness of the bridging level is that, despite people from diverse divisions coming together, they must all have the same financial status and power. In this regard, it is also crucial to draw from Putnam's works. Putnam (in Kay & Johnston, 2007:24) argues that civil rights movements can be regarded as a classic example of bridging social capital. Because bridging spans different groups in communities, it is a classic example of horizontal connections (Babaei *et al*., 2012:121). While bonding is mainly exclusive (focusing only on families), bridging is inclusive because it cuts across all divides.

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2.8.3 Linking social capital

The linking level is concerned with links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder. Linking social capital basically refers to relations between individuals and groups in different social strata in a hierarchy where power, social status, and wealth are accessed by different groups (Cote & Healy, 2001:42). Arguing along similar lines, Woolcock and Sweetser (2002:26) contend that "linking social capital pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are in politically or financially influential positions". Under normal circumstances, this may include ongoing connections with formal institutions.

2.9 TWO FORMS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Research that pertains to social capital is normally concerned with scrutinising various levels of interactions. Traditionally, the levels can either be at the *micro*, *meso*, or *macro* level. Grootaert and Bastelaer (2001:5) maintain that since these levels lead to various interactions in any given community, two distinct forms of social capital are normally produced, namely *structural* and *cognitive* social capital. On the one hand, Grootaert and Bastelaer (2001:5) argue that "structural social capital facilitates information sharing, and collective action and decision making through established roles, social networks and other social structures supplemented by rules, procedures, and precedents". In the main, these scholars are of the view that structural social capital is seen as an objective and externally observable construct. On the other hand, Grootaert and Bastelaer (2001:5) maintain that "cognitive social capital refers to shared norms, values, trust, attitudes, and beliefs". Finally, they hold the view that these forms could be complementary, but this is not always the case.

2.10 THE MULTI-DIMENSIONALITY OF SOCIAL CAPITAL RESEARCH

The dimensions of social capital are diverse, although they are inter-related. The dimensions include, but are not limited to, trust, reciprocity, solidarity, social cohesion and inclusion, and networks of cooperation.

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2.10.1 Trust

Trust is often defined differently by different scholars. According to Williamson (1993:453), trust is a term with many meanings. Gomulia (2006:7) defines trust as "a level of confidence that is established when the behaviour of the other individual can be predicted and when they act in an expected manner". Trust is not only defined in various ways, but there is also always difficulty in measuring it. The unifying factor is that trust plays a key role in nurturing and promoting positive interpersonal relationships regardless of the setting. Traditionally, trust and social capital are closely related concepts (Ogilvie, 2004:3). To this end, there are two essential views from Coleman (1988:102-104) and Putnam (1993a:36). Firstly, Coleman (1988:102-104) is of the view that a system of mutual trust needs to be promoted. If promoted, this system of mutual trust can serve as a form of social capital on which obligations and expectations may be based. Secondly, Putnam (1993a:36) is of the view that trust may generally be perceived as a source of social capital. Examining these two views, it could be argued that there is a close relationship between the sources of trust and the sources of social capital (Adler & Kwon, 2000:101).

2.10.2 Reciprocity

Burgeoning research on reciprocity has featured prominently in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, economics, political science, and sociology. According to Diekmann (2004:487-488), reciprocity first appeared and gained popularity through the writings of Georg Simmel (1950), Bronislaw Malinowski (1926), Marcel Mauss (1950/1990), and Alvin Gouldner (1960). These writings traditionally make the concept very old. The first point of departure in reciprocity research is that the footprint of reciprocity attracted more attention by making its appearance in social capital research. Although there are varied meanings of reciprocity, a common denominator is that it is normally linked with the individual's actions. For example, according to Falk and Fischbacher (2001:1), "reciprocity means that people reward kind actions and punish unkind ones". Just like trust, reciprocity is also credited for its ability to promote the stability of a social system (Gouldner in Diekmann, 2004:488).

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2.10.3 Solidarity

Solidarity plays an integral part in SCT, but has featured rarely in academic discourses. Doreian and Fararo (1998:6) have extensively examined the models and theories of solidarity. They maintain that solidarity is the biggest problem that faces the world. Solidarity refers to general relationships and is mostly symmetrical and reciprocal (Brown & Gilman, 1960:258). In essence, solidarity develops when families support one another and work together to solve social problems. It is reciprocal in that people who often do not support others, are not assisted when they need assistance. Solidarity exists in social organisations. In Durkheim's view (in Doreian & Fararo, 1998:6), there are two very important sources of solidarity. While the first source involves structural interdependence, the second one involves respect for the rights of individuals as a common value. Borrowing largely from Durkheim's work, it appears that solidarity unifies individuals in society around a common cultural and/or religious belief. Solidarity can be generated among different groups. Nowadays pledging solidarity is mostly used in support of the actions of others who belong to the same group.

2.10.4 Social cohesion and inclusion

While social cohesion and inclusion are related, the primary focus of these dimensions is on understanding social bonds and their potential to exclude and include members of the community (Dudwick, Kuehnast, Jones & Woolcock, 2006:22). Dudwick *et al*. (2006) further maintain that social cohesion and inclusion can be demonstrated by coming together at community events such as weddings and funerals. Activities such as donations not only lead to increased social cohesion and inclusion, but they often lead to increased solidarity. Social cohesion and inclusion also promote civic-mindedness and altruistic behaviour (Dudwick *et al*., 2006:22). The coming together of different members of community at a community event also promotes a sense of collective behaviour and collective action.

2.10.5 Networks of cooperation

As social network theorists have illustrated, social capital depends largely on a string of sustained networks. It is argued that networks are present wherever individuals

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engage with one another (Murray, 2006:11). Murray (2006) further points out that networks can occur within both social and political settings, as well as within economic exchanges. In the realm of politics, if one person is closely associated with a political party, he/she is more likely to be given more access to resources. These networks are traditionally referred to as a "dense network", where one individual interacts with (or is connected with) two or more persons (Burt, 2000:351). At the core of these interactions is the exchange and flow of information that keep the individuals together. While there is an exchange and flow of information, resources are mobilised with the intention of benefitting everyone involved (Gomulia, 2006:8). These networks do not end at the individual or community level, but they go as far as involving organisations within and outside the community. A chain of regular communication channels and an integrated flow of information are therefore built in the process.

2.11 DIMENSIONS THAT CONSTITUTE SOCIAL CAPITAL IDENTIFIED BY COLEMAN, JEONG, AND KNACK AND KEEFER

Each of the abovementioned scholars have identified three dimensions that constitute social capital. Firstly, Coleman (1988:95) identifies obligations and expectations, informal channels, and social norms. Secondly, Jeong (2008:59) identifies the cognitive dimension, relational dimension, and structural dimension as dimensions of social capital. The cognitive dimension explains socio-cultural resources that provide representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among parties (Cicourel in Jeong, 2008:59). The relational dimension is generally referred to as reciprocity partly because it relates to the exchange of resources between actors. Lastly, the structural dimension includes a network structure (weak and strong ties) and mutual trust (Jeong, 2008:59). Moreover, three dimensions of social capital were also identified by Knack and Keefer (1997). According to their perspective, generalised trust, civic norms, and associational networks are vital dimensions of social capital. Although these dimensions were raised by authors who did not gain as much popularity as Coleman, Putnam and Bourdieu, they are consistent with the dimensions mentioned earlier.

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2.12 CRITIQUING THE SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY (SCT)

Despite a wealth of research on social capital, very little care has been taken in terms of dealing with the definitional and measurement conundrums across all research fields. Social capital is a concept that is difficult to measure effectively (Adam & Rončević, 2003:161-162; Onyx & Bullen, 2000:24; Tzanakis, 2013:13). Fukuyama (2001:12) maintains that there is currently no consensus on how to measure social capital. As a consequence, most research analyses it at the individual level (Jeong, 2008:59). Other research focuses on social structures at the community level. Fukuyama (2001:12) further argues that the tendency has been to use two broad approaches, namely to "conduct a census of groups and group memberships in a given society and to use survey data on levels of trust and civic engagement". However, this not only adversely affects the studies, but it also continually subjects studies to various criticisms. Lin (1999:33) points out that social capital has been analysed divergently at different levels. As a result, theoretical and measurement confusions have been created.

The resulting implications for this are that empirical results that emanate from social capital studies are therefore bound to be shrouded in doubt. The existence of social capital as a theory is also denied (Claridge, 2004:10). The concept is criticised mainly from the practicality point of view. What the central tenets of SCT seem to promise in theory is largely impossible in practice (Fukuyama, 2001:12). It is thus not surprising in this context that Fine (2001:176) also holds a similar view that measuring social capital is a mammoth task partly because "it involves many individuals, in many activities, and many attitudes". Fine (2001) provides reasons as to why such a difficulty is sometimes inescapable in contemporary research. In augmenting his position, Fine (2001) suggests that if one assumes that individuals, activities, and attitudes are the same, then there is no doubt that everything might suddenly become easy, whereas the reality on the ground suggests that each and every individual is bound to interact with other individuals at different levels of community or society at large. Because there are no reliable units that can be used to measure social capital, research inevitably focuses on the individual, and not on interactions between individuals. Lin (2001:26-28) postulates that it is extremely difficult to embark on social capital research because it is not quantifiable.

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Moreover, the conception of social capital is also criticised on operationalisation grounds. Andriani (2013:18-20) and Tzanakis (2013:2) hold that it is extremely difficult to operationalise the conception of social capital. Linked to this difficulty in operationalising the concept is the fact that it consists of a multiplicity of forms and dimensions (Fox, 1997:964). Tzanakis (2013:2) contends that social capital research has been riddled with conceptual ambiguity and misspecification. Because the concept cannot be measured directly, studies have decided to explore the theory through the use of proxy indicators (Claridge, 2004:10). Judging by the frequent use of proxy indicators, it remains bitterly true that nobody can proclaim with certainty and authority that he/she is using the correct methodology. The issues of reliability, credibility, and validity in empirical research have thus far remained questionable. Lin (1999:33-34) focuses on the controversies involved in social capital:

> One major controversy generated from macro- versus relational-level perspectives is whether social capital is collective goods or individual goods. Most scholars agree that it is both collective and individual goods; that is, institutionalized social relations with embedded resources are expected to be beneficial to both the collective and the individuals in the collective. At the group level, social capital represents some aggregation of valued resources (such as economic, political, cultural, or social, as in social connections) of members interactive [sic] as a network or networks. The difficulty arises when social capital is discussed as collective or even public goods, along with trust, norms, and other 'collective' or public goods … Another controversy, related to the focus on the collective aspect of social capital, is the assumed or expected requirement that there is closure or density in social relations and social networks (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993, 1995) … A third controversy that requires clarification is Coleman's statement that social capital is any 'social-structural resource' that generates returns for an individual in a specific action.

The following table further illustrates the controversies in social capital research.

Table 2.3: Controversies in social capital

Issue	Contention	Problem
Collective or individual asset (Coleman, Putnam)	Social capital as collective asset	Confounding with norms, trust
Closure or open networks (Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam)	Group should be closed or dense	Vision of class society and absence of mobility
Functional (Coleman)	Social capital is indicated by its effect in particular action	Tautology (cause is determined by effect)
Measurement (Coleman)	Not quantifiable	Heuristic, not falsifiable

Source: Lin (1999:28-51)

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2.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the evolution of the social capital theories and the classical and contemporary theories of social capital. It defined the concept of social capital. It also outlined how social capital has become more popular across different academic fields of study. Despite these advantages, the chapter showed that social capital is currently difficult to operationalise. This difficulty leads to serious methodological problems when undertaking social capital research. The chapter also provided a detailed analysis of the dimensions, forms, and categories of social capital.

The following chapter focuses on building trust (a central feature of social capital) between the police and communities. The following chapter sheds light on the theories that undergird social capital as a trust-building model between the police and communities, and also provides a detailed outline of the factors that undergird trust-building processes in communities.

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CHAPTER 3: BUILDING TRUST IN COMMUNITIES

Both tears and sweat are salty, but they render a different result. Tears will get you sympathy; sweat will get you change – Jesse Jackson

3.1 INTRODUCTION

While the previous chapter broadly underscored, evaluated, and critiqued the scholarly arguments pertaining to burgeoning scholarship associated with SCT, this chapter ushers in a sole focus on trust and how it is built in communities. It is important to reiterate, as alluded to in Chapter 1, that trust is an essential ingredient of social capital. Understanding how trust is built within communities is therefore inextricably linked to how social capital is built. In terms of shedding light on the phenomena of trust in communities, this chapter first immerses itself in an overview of the trust-building process. Secondly, the chapter provides the building blocks of trust. Thirdly, the chapter evaluates the relationship between the community and the police. Fourthly, the chapter discusses the theoretical perspectives that guide and frame police-community relationships in attempting to prevent and reduce crime. Lastly, the chapter decides on the appropriate schools of thoughts that are useful in understanding police-community relations in any given situation.

3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF TRUST-BUILDING IN COMMUNITIES

Most studies (Coleman, 1990:302; Fukuyama, 1995:10; Putnam, 1993a:36) agree that trust plays a pivotal role in the performance of society's institutions. If the institutions are functional and effective, trust is built among communities. It is thus not surprising that, according to Tonkiss (2004:17), social capital and trust are able to solve problems such as "economic development and educational attainment, to crime and fear of crime, political disaffection, health outcomes and social mobility". More importantly, when studying trust-building in communities, it is very rare to find a situation where trust is not conflated with social capital (Welch, Rivera, Conway, Yonkoski, Lupton & Giancolla, 2001:3).

Building trust in communities takes various forms. Arrow, Deutsch and Gambetta (in McKnight & Chervany, n.d.:3) acknowledge that trust makes cooperative behaviours and endeavours happen without any difficulty. At the organisational level, there is lateral and vertical trust (Fox in Fu, 2004:23). While the lateral relates to trust relations

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among peers who share a similar work situation, the vertical relates to trust relations between individuals and their immediate supervisors, subordinates, and top management (Fox in Fu, 2004:23).

Furthermore, where there is trust, irrespective of individual, collective, or organisational level, a level of confidence is built. Normally, trusting one another does not happen overnight; it evolves over time (Jones & George, 1998:535). Trust develops faster when a person interacts closely and on a regular basis with the people around him/her. It does not end among individuals, but it frequently transcends that. For example, trust is credited for being a central component of ensuring effective working relationships (Gabarro, 1978:290-303). These relationships transcend organisations and communities and consequently become social trust. Social trust, in turn, allows groups, communities, and even nations to develop a culture of tolerance that is needed to deal with conflicts and differing interests (Cox, 1995:15).

3.3 BUILDING BLOCKS OF TRUST

Just like social capital, building trust does not usually happen overnight because trust is a multi-dimensional concept. To date, a myriad of empirical studies have not sufficiently, compellingly, and correctly measured the concept. It can, however, be argued that despite this discernible uncertainty, trusting someone can be cognitive, emotional, and behavioural (Casieri *et al.*, 2010:25). *Cognitive* relates to competencies, skills, and personal values that are used as the basis for trusting an individual, while *emotional trust* relates to feelings that are generated between parties due to knowing one another, and *behavioural trust* relates to the willingness to act in a manner that is morally and socially acceptable (Casieri *et al.*, 2010:25-26). In short, these dimensions suggest that building trust can be a mental, physical, and psychological exercise. Trusting an individual can be a totality of these dimensions.

3.3.1 Community or public participation

Because trust decreases and increases occasionally in response to different situations, it can be argued that trust is largely based on how people view the situation around themselves in any given society (Newton, 2001:203). Alternatively, Newton (2001) further contends that trust can be perceived as a direct response to internal

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and external environments around the trustee and the trustor. Just like building social capital, building trust is often a very complex and multi-layered exercise. The only common denominator is that public/community participation is key in building trust and social capital among communities. Although it may take various forms, participation is frequently developed, nurtured, and maintained through the promotion of collaborative values between the government and citizens (Myeong & Seo, 2016:1). Collaborative values allow citizens to participate meaningfully in open and transparent decision making. In the process, full and effective participation allows citizens to feel that they are highly valued and recognised by the relevant leadership structures.

Arguing along similar lines, Newton (2001:201) purports that trust is generated through the promotion of civic engagement together with participation. Participatory and inclusive governance allows citizens to take part in government initiatives such as development policies, programmes, and projects. This, in turn, allows citizens to develop confidence and trust in public institutions. Using this theoretical standpoint, it is argued that if the local community is excluded from participating in government initiatives for whatever reason, the level of trust in the government is adversely affected (Myeong & Seo, 2016:1). Ordinarily, a participatory approach creates an enabling environment for bottom-up, integrated, and citizen-driven development initiatives.

3.3.2 Attributes of a trustee and trustor

Trusting someone is directly linked to certain attributes that are collectively perceived as being reliable, virtuous, and righteous. These attributes can occasionally be physical and psychological. In this case, Jarvenpaa, Knoll and Leidner (1998:31) critically examined *ability*, *benevolence*, *integrity*, and *propensity to trust* as the most common attributes that can be found in a trustee and a trustor respectively. Hence, according to this categorisation, the first three attributes are associated with the trustee, while propensity to trust is mostly associated with the trustor. Jarvenpaa *et al*. (1998:31) define the attributes as follows:

> *Ability* refers to the group of skills that enable a trustee to be perceived competent within some specific domain. *Benevolence* is the extent to which a trustee is believed to feel interpersonal care and concern, and the willingness to do good to the trustor beyond an egocentric profit motive. *Integrity* is adherence to a set of principles (such as study/work habits) thought to make

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> the trustee dependable and reliable, according to the trustor. In terms of the trustor attributes, *propensity to trust* is a general personality trait that conveys a general expectation of how trusting one should be.

Upon closer scrutiny, it appears that these attributes only consider the development and promotion of trust at an individual level, while trust-building is multi-layered (horizontal and hierarchical). As a consequence, Bachmann and Inkpen (2011:282) termed a firm focus on the individual as a micro-level phenomenon. For this reason, Jarvenpaa *et al.* (1998:31) have increasingly recognised that examining trust at a collective level (groups and organisations) is extremely difficult. Again, this slightly broader analysis is termed a macro-level phenomenon (Bachmann & Inkpen, 2011:282). Macro-level analysis has serious complications because each group and/or organisation may have a myriad of trustees and trustors in it.

3.3.3 The relevance of expectation, belief, and willingness in trust-building

The attributes mentioned above are not adequate in terms of solidly building trust. Rather, the literature states that there are essential qualities that should be possessed by an individual (trustee or trustor) in order to be trusted. For example, Casieri *et al.* (2010:25) perceive *expectation, belief*, and *willingness* as the basic components that should feature prominently in the rightful conceptualisation of trust. Casieri *et al.* (2010) therefore dissected these components and examined how each of them can contribute meaningfully to maximising trust.

Firstly, under *expectation*, the trustee should commit himself/herself to things that he/she can afford to do. This allows the trustor to believe that the trustee will act in a manner that is morally correct, such as cooperating, reciprocating, and collaborating with the aim of achieving the same desired end (Robinson, Bhattachaya, Devinney & Pillutla in Casieri *et al*., 2010:25). This line of argument is consistent with Preece's (2002:38) argument on building trust. Preece (2002:38) is of the view that trust develops among individuals only when it is known that past interactions were favourable. Traditionally, past interactions in this regard are used as baseline information to predict what are most likely to be the future interactions, while negative interactions normally give rise to negative expectations.

Secondly, *belief* in building trust pertains to the ability of the individual (trustee and trustor) to deliver and/or fulfil his/her obligations and commitments (Brockner & Siegal

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in Casieri *et al*., 2010:25). This, in turn, allows the individual to be predictable in terms of acting in a morally acceptable manner in the future. Stated differently, the individual's character and trustworthiness are judged on the promise(s) and commitment(s) he/she has made. Lastly, *willingness* pertains to the ability of the trustor. *Willingness* in building trust is directly related to being exposed to risky situations because of opportunistic behaviour (Mayer, Davies & Schoorman in Casieri *et al*., 2010:25).

3.4 THE COMMUNITY AND THE POLICE

Building community policing has been the focus of burgeoning research in criminological studies since the 1980s. The focus seeks to broaden the understanding of how effective working relations between the police and communities can be built as a contingent measure to prevent crime. There is, however, a question that often comes to mind when one considers the relationship between social capital and community policing, namely: is social capital able to reduce crime in communities? Buonanno, Montolio and Vanin (2009:145) have attempted to respond to this question. Buonanno *et al.* (2009:145) maintain that it is not easy to reach a conclusion on this question. Rather, these scholars maintain that social capital increases communication channels, which are extremely useful in reducing crime in communities. They also caution that better communication can allow criminal activities to go unnoticed. Functioning government institutions such as the criminal justice system and effective laws are key to reducing crime in communities.

The core function of the police is to maintain order and safety by preventing crime. However, the police cannot succeed without support from the citizens. Citizens' support should be commended because of its ability to enhance the performance of the police (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012:276). Arguing along similar lines, Pino (2001:202) maintains that when communities work together with police officers (community policing) to reduce crime and bring order in society, the arrangement is normally perceived as social capital building. Pino's (2001) argument is thus consistent with the premise of this study. The premise of this study is that the fight against crime and social disorder in society could only be truly effective when there are partnerships and cooperative arrangements centred on common goals between all the actors (the community and the police). DeBlieck (2005:5) points out that a police-public

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relationship is crucial because it keeps the police accountable to the public they serve. Indeed, these partnerships could be enhanced by well-established social capital between the police and communities. This is partly because social capital can be produced and enhanced by community-based policing (Home Office in DeBlieck, 2005:5).

According to Meares (2002:1593), community policing not only enhances social capital but it also provides a platform where the role of the community in law and the criminal justice system is recognised and accommodated. COP is therefore crucial to building strategic community partnerships (Thacher, 2001:771). Thacher (2001:781-782) further adds, however, that an enabling environment needs to be created by the creation of appropriate institutions in order to enhance better communication between community leaders and the police. When solid partnerships have been built between all the stakeholders (police, communities, and organisations) concerned, there is often a high sense of shared responsibility, accountability, and ownership of resources (Nicholl, 1999:9-15).

Close cooperation between the police and communities is vital in many respects. Wide scholarly arguments on trust between the police and communities are well documented (Kääriäinen & Sirén, 2012:277). Building trust between two entities normally requires a reciprocal and simultaneous process to come to fruition. To this end, Kääriäinen and Sirén (2012:277) assert that “citizens trust the police if they see that the police are performing their work efficiently”. This, in turn, implies that the citizens often trust the police if they feel that they are operating within the ambit of the law and the perpetrators are kept behind bars. This becomes a form of give and take (reciprocity) where the police offer their services and expect respect from the citizens in return. In this regard, the community not only works with the police (mainly as whistle-blowers), but it also acts as an oversight body responsible for ensuring accountable and transparent policing.

3.5 THEORISING COMMUNITY POLICING AND CRIME PREVENTION

While theories of social capital (such as SNT, WTT and a host of network theories) were discussed in Chapter 2, the section below discusses theories that explain why

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crime occurs. The section concludes by choosing appropriate schools of thought that best explain the nexus of trust building, social capital and community policing.

3.5.1 The contingency theory approach (CTA)

First developed and populated by Paul Lawrence and Jay Lorsch in 1967, the CTA provides a detailed analysis of conducive environments for effective community policing. Küçükuysal and Beyhan (2011:263) argue that the approach mainly helps in providing an understanding of the core issues that hinder and facilitate the implementation of effective community policing programmes. Environments that often experience uncertainties and regular market changes present different demands – either positive or negative (Küçükuysal & Beyhan, 2011:263).

The approach points out that when designing community policing programmes, it is important to take all kinds of environments into consideration. Because the approach considers organising, planning, predicting, and identifying a suitable environment, it is used to address problems that are often experienced during the implementation of community policing. Moreover, the approach further maintains that an organisation's demands need to be in line with the external environment (Küçükuysal & Beyhan, 2011:265). According to Adams, Rohe and Arcury (2002:402), COP requires two fundamental changes: firstly, the reorganisation of the resources of the police is required; and secondly, the behavioural and the mindset change of the police is also required. However, the theory fails to recognise that there are elements that might exert pressure during implementation, including the expectations of police organisations, civil entities, and funding sources.

3.5.2 Social disorganisation theory

Social disorganisation theory is central to elucidating the conditions under which criminal activities occur. The roots of the theory date back to before the 1980s, although it also re-emerged in the mid-1980s as one of the major theoretical perspectives in the study of crime (Markowitz, Bellair, Liska & Liu, 2001:293). The theory is key to combating crime (Kubrin, 2009:227). Unlike socially disorganised communities, socially organised communities tend to have strong bonds among neighbours, solidarity (consensus on norms or values of society such as being crime

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free), and integration (social interaction among residents) (Kubrin, 2009:227). Socially disorganised communities lack these characteristics (Kubrin, 2009:227).

Informal social controls are often significantly weak. The social disorganisation theory can therefore be interpreted as the inability of local communities to realise common values and norms, which affect their ability to solve community problems (Kornhauser, Thomas & Znaniecki in Bursik, 1988:521).

The social disorganisation perspective argues that crime does not occur randomly, but takes place in different places where there are particular conditions not found in other places (Kubrin, 2009:225). The theory thus attempts to answer the question of why crime is higher in some places than others. This theory is central to understanding the paradox(es) of this research. Firstly, it briefly explains the contributing factors to police deaths. Secondly, the theory further explains why the police commit crimes. Used in conjunction with social capital theories, the theory typically expounds on the environment(s) in which police deaths take place and why police officers have been vulnerable to crime. This is so partly because the theory critically assesses “ecological (especially neighbourhood) distribution of crime and delinquency, hypothesizing that it is due to variation in the capacity of neighbourhoods to constrain its residents from violating norms” (Markowitz *et al.*, 2001:293).

Of importance in this perspective is the way in which neighbourhood cohesion is understood. The proponents argue that when poverty, urbanisation, industrialisation, de-industrialisation, population turnover, and ethnic/racial heterogeneity increase, the strength of cohesion and informal social controls decreases, which creates a conducive environment for criminal activities. When informal controls decrease, they create more space for fear and social disorder. The downside of this theory is that there is currently no community-level data available to demonstrate its influence. The fundamental problem is that there is a lack of research on the role of neighbourhood cohesion in mediating the effects of population turnover (Markowitz *et al.*, 2001:295). Kubrin (2009:225) contends that the theory has substantive and methodological issues, including the failure to give proper methodological guidelines in terms of how crime takes place.

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3.5.3 The broken window theory

James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling first wrote about the broken window theory in 1982. The theory maintains that there are informal social controls in every environment. When the social controls are not effective, the neighbourhood feels unsafe. If the neighbourhood continues to feel unsafe, and the situation remains unresolved, this inevitably leads to more disorder. According to Wilson and Kelling (in Harcourt, 1998:302), “disorder and crime are inextricably linked”. In other words, if the window remains unrepaired, it makes it much easier for criminals to enter. To this end, Harcourt (1998:303) argues that “one broken window, left unrepaired, invites other broken windows”. When society openly tolerates wrongdoing (for example, when people steal and are not reported to law enforcement agencies), the criminals develop a shared thinking that they can commit crime and get away with murder. However, when informal social controls are strong, the neighbours will take care of each other and will report wrongdoing.

3.6 SELECTED SCHOOL OF THOUGHTS

Since this study considers building trust, social capital, and the relationship(s) thereof in the context of community policing, two theories that consider this nexus, namely SNT and CTA, have become the most suitable analytical tools. In the wake of rapid advancement(s) in technology, it is useful to determine how a host of network(s) has been built and sustained over time within community structures and the mechanisms in place to harness these networks in order to improve the performance of the police in communities. This synergy dichotomises network-orientated and community policing-orientated framework(s). This study also supports this dichotomy (police and community relationships).

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter extensively discussed how trust is built in communities. It also expounded on how relationships are built between the police and communities. It discussed the ingredients of trust. Through the analysis provided in this chapter it became quite clear that trust is a highly contested concept, and it is difficult to measure the concept. The chapter also provided the theories that are useful in explicating the relationship

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between the police and communities aimed at crime prevention and in explicating the conditions that give rise to crime. While this chapter gave a broad clarification of the relationships that exist between police and communities, the next chapter examines police-community relations from an international perspective to make comparisons and discover lessons that can be learned.

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CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE POLICE AND COMMUNITIES

Hope is the champion of power, and mother of success; for who so hopes strongly has within him the gift of miracles – Samuel Smiles

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Whereas the previous chapter provided a lengthy discussion on the generic theory of social capital and building trust in communities, the purpose of this chapter is to pay attention to the comparative analysis approach. As such, this approach is central to understanding, extrapolating, and juxtaposing the extent to which other countries' efforts have succeeded and/or failed to build social capital and trust between the police and communities. A comparative analysis approach is thus believed to be suitable for critically evaluating the approaches and strategies of developed countries (focusing primarily on the USA) and developing countries (focusing primarily on China) in terms of how to implement community policing and strengthen relations between the police and communities. The African perspective is used briefly in addition to the extensive application of Chinese and American models in order to further deepen and broaden the understanding of how police-community relations can be enhanced locally using international best practices. The chapter considers how the USA differs and/or is similar to China in terms of using social capital as a model for building trust between communities and the police. The chapter also considers community policing models that are currently applicable in various African countries.

As a precursor to this comparative analysis, practical linkages between trust and social capital need to be understood not only from the local but also from the international perspective. Fu's (2004:23-26) study is perceived as seminal in terms of highlighting the intricacies associated with the relationship between social capital and trust-building in communities. Fu (2004:23 -26) argues that trust can be perceived as a precondition of social capital, and as a product of social capital. By the same token, other studies (Costa & Peiró, 2009:131; Newton, 2001:202; Preece, 2002:37) contend that trust primarily serves two purposes, namely that it provides a foundation and is crucial for the development and promotion of social capital. Preece (2002:37) typically perceives trust as an ingredient of social capital. Furthermore, Fu's (2004:23-26) study illustrates

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how the two variables are inextricably linked in the contemporary body of literature. Correspondingly, Qin, Shen and Meng (2011:356) have similarly recognised that trust and social capital are essential tools for achieving social goals. As such, trust is perceived as a lubricant and a foundation for interpersonal communication (Arrow in Qin *et al.*, 2011:356).

Against this backdrop, this chapter begins by briefly outlining the international perspectives on social capital, trust, and community policing using practical examples. It then outlines African perspectives and ends by explaining the relevance and suitability of the selected case studies.

4.2 OVERVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Building on the extensive theoretical foundation laid in Chapter 2, it appears in this regard that the conception of social capital has been applied in many areas with the intention to discern its relevance when applied in different contexts. Mignone (2009:105) provides numerous fields (such as community governance and political participation, knowledge and innovation, firms, labour markets, public services and the welfare state, and education and health) where social capital has been practically applied.

From the practical standpoint, social capital unites individuals from various cultures. Social capital can be a determinant of a collectivistic and individualistic culture. Collectivistic culture draws consumers together, whereas individualistic culture creates distances and boundaries between them (Ratner & Hamilton, 2015:266). Robert Putnam's work, titled *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital*, has been cited by reputable scholars as being influential in terms of understanding what social capital does on the ground (Harraka, 2002:266; Ratner & Hamilton, 2015:266; Sander & Putnam, 2010:9). This work shows how popular participation declined within civic engagement as most communities began to withdraw from formal organisations in the USA.

The importance of social capital also directly influences the strength of political systems in a country. This is particularly laid bare in Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work* publication, which garnered support from various scholars interested in understanding the relationship between social capital and democracy. Miquel, Qian,

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Xu and Yao (2015: 1-56) considered this relationship in China. These scholars argue that culture perpetually provides the central foundation for the success of elections in China. In their view, culture helps strengthen and fortify the central pillars of democracy, namely political institutions. This implies that democracy derives its meaning and purpose from strong adherence to cultural practices.

To a large extent, democracy does not merely depend on strong adherence to culture or the absence thereof, but social capital also serves as a solid foundation. This relationship is exemplified in Miquel *et al*.'s (2015:1) analysis when they purport that "citizens in villages with higher stocks of social capital can provide elected leaders with clearer signals of their preferences". They further purport that "social capital enhances the villagers' ability to monitor the elected politician". In this regard, it is apparent that different levels of social capital can present challenges to the political system. To this end, the north and the south of Italy seem to have differing levels of social capital. As a result, in a context of differentiations, it becomes virtually impossible for a democratic regime to thrive and deepen (Bideleux, 2007:109; Tarrow, 1996:390).

Despite a great deal of prominent empirical works published on the international front on social capital around this period, wide scholarship indicates that there are considerable differences and gaps that exist between the Global North (developed countries) and the Global South (developing countries) in terms of the prioritisation of social capital research. According to Nuzzo (in Andriani, 2013:16), a significant portion of social capital research has placed emphasis on the Global North, thereby neglecting the Global South. This finding, in Xia's (2011:137) view, should not necessarily cause too much confusion because the conception of social capital in the main originated from studies on Western societies. This skewed focus suggests that social capital research can be vitally important in the developing world, especially its influence on the democratisation process.

4.3 INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY POLICING

While community policing (or COP alternatively) has received global attention in terms of proactively responding to and preventing crime across the world, it is an ambiguous concept (Ruteere & Pommerrole, 2003:588). This ambiguity caused Brogden and Nijhar (2005:23) to postulate that "searching for a definition of community policing is a

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will-of-the-wisp" – or alternatively, there would be little prospect of success. There is generally no agreement regarding what constitutes the common practices and norms of community policing (Ejiogu, 2010:141; Nield, n.d.:4; Wu, Jiang & Lambert, 2011:288). This, according to Docobo (2005:1), seems to be compounded by the fact that community policing is not necessarily a tactic and/or strategy but rather a philosophical approach to how policing is conducted. Therefore, there are mixed reactions to it. To this end, Wisler and Onwudiwe (2007:3; 2008:427) perceive community policing as being both a top-down approach (Western ideology – state initiated and controlled), and a bottom-up approach (informal policing – widely practised in many communities in Asia, Latin America, and Africa). Western-style community policing is mostly rooted in Weberian ideals (Denney & Jenkins, 2013:17). Brogden and Nijhar (2005:1-2) similarly perceive community policing as a "grand philosophy of policing that is community sensitive, accountable, and transparent". These scholars further purport that community policing is not necessarily military-style policing. Rather, Ruteere and Pommerrole (2003:588) succinctly define community policing as a "principle of co-ordination and consultation between the police and the policed". Tiley (in Cross, 2014:518) defines it as a "shift towards policing *with* and *for* the community rather than policing *of* the community".

Although there are many differing views and perceptions, community policing has increasingly become a contemporary paradigm of policing (Olivier in Ren, Cao, Lovrich & Gaffney, 2005:55). Brogden and Nijhar (2005:9) in this context note two essential conferences that were held in different countries across the world in an attempt to introduce the philosophy of community policing. First, on February 2000, the landmark Abu Dhabi conference included experts from Arab countries, Singapore, Taiwan, France, Britain, the USA, and Canada (Mohanty & Mohanty, 2014:66). The experts as a whole held the view that community policing should be used to reduce crime. Second, a landmark seminar in September 1999 aimed at promoting Singapore-style community policing was attended by police officials from different countries such as South Africa, Bangladesh, Brunei, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Maldives, Mongolia, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam (Mohanty & Mohanty, 2014:66). This seminar sought to emphasise the importance of community policing.

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Despite widespread misunderstandings and misinterpretations, it is worth noting that many studies (Brogden, 2005:64-98; Frühling, 2007:125-144; Weisburd, Shalev & Amir, 2002:80-109) on community policing, trust, and social capital have increased significantly around the world in response to various cultural, economic, ecological, political, and social conditions. However, most criminological studies contend that a large proportion of community policing philosophy has been developed and popularised by developed (Western) countries – in particular the USA and the UK (Davis, Henderson & Merrick, 2003:285; Frühling, 2007:125-144; Weisburd *et al.*, 2002:81). The Western dominance was primarily in response to the need to proactively prevent rapidly rising crime, fear, and social disorder rather than to continuously rely on reactive measures (Docobo, 2005:1; Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5; Wilson & Weiss, 2012:V). Despite the perceived Western dominance, similar challenges were also experienced in developing countries. Inevitably, as a consequence of these challenges, developing countries had to adopt, embrace, and implement community policing in an attempt to do away with hugely fragmented, sectarian, and authoritarian policing (Davis *et al*., 2003:285).

Nield (n.d.:4) cautions that countries need to be extremely circumspect and wary when implementing community policing because it is not usually a flawless and watertight exercise particularly in "countries with traditions of military dominance, where police and public security functions have long served to preserve and protect the interests of political and economic elites". Former colonies in Africa (in particular Nigeria under military rule and South Africa under colonialism and apartheid), Latin America, and to a greater extent Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War, are thus the epitome of Nield's (n.d.) views. Although there are many underlying reasons, community policing is primarily used in response to the weak accountability of the police to citizens and in the context of the police legitimacy crisis across the world (Davis *et al.*, 2003:285). By and large, authoritarian policing practices characterised and dominated most transitional countries in the early 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s (Wong, 2001:186-214; Wu *et al*., 2012:189). Former communist and Eastern European countries had to implement new police reforms characterised by community policing ostensibly in an effort to phase out rogue and infamous policing. In this regard, the adoption and implementation of democracy (or, put differently, the democratisation period) seems to have necessitated and created fertile grounds for an accountable

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police force. Under a democratic order, policing principles naturally ought to be geared towards upholding the rule of law, respecting human rights, safeguarding the citizens, and promoting the will of the people. As a result, adopting community policing practices was (for most countries, if not all) unavoidable because it sought to strengthen police legitimacy and control crime through working with communities (International Association of Chiefs of Police [IACP], 2015:11).

In the modern era, COP is largely perceived as a worldwide growth industry (Byley in Wong, 2001:186). This can be seen in the increased number of countries equipping their police officers with community policing skills. For example:

> Fijian and Jamaican police officers attend COP courses at the British Bramshill Police College. Russian police officers undertake tuition at police academies in the United States of America. The St Petersburg Academy draws on the Metropolitan Police's expertise on community policing. The Dutch police exchange community policing experience with officers from Hungary, from Poland, and from Czech Republic (Brogden & Nijhar, 2005:5).

Although it may be perceived as a panacea to community-related problems, the downside of COP is that it is used generally and not specifically (Brogden, 2005:66). As a result, there is no single uniform model of community policing (Davis *et al.*, 2003:285). Instead, the local context and history of the country in question are increasingly becoming crucial in terms of shaping the development of community policing models (Brogden, 2005:66). Despite the lack of a uniform model evident in community policing practices, Skogan and Hartnett (in Davis *et al.*, 2003:285-286) list the following four essential characteristics of the model:

- Decentralisation of authority and patrol strategies designed to promote communication between the police and citizens;
- Commitment to problem solving;
- Permitting the public to participate in setting police priorities and developing tactics; and
- Empowering communities to help solve their own crime and disorder problems through sponsorship of crime prevention programmes.

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In addition to these characteristics, Brogden and Nijhar (2005:23-24) provide the following central guidelines for community policing:

- Neighbourhoods or small communities serve as primary foci of police organisation and operations;
- Communities have unique and distinctive policing problems that conventional police organisations and responses have not traditionally addressed;
- Community consensus and structures should guide the police's response to the community's crime and security problems;
- Policing should be both locally accountable and transparent; and
- Police discretion is a fact and should be used positively to maximise community confidence in the police.

While these characteristics and guidelines may be evident in many countries, a closer look at community policing in the global arena seems to suggest patterns. Firstly, in the USA, policing is under local and not national control – a typical example of a federal state where power is decentralised. Secondly, the UK has prioritised neighbourhood watch schemes and citizen self-help associations mostly aimed at crime prevention (Friedman in Davis *et al.*, 2003:286). Thirdly, Canada emphasises the importance of closer contact between line officials and the public and increased citizen involvement in police decision making (Murphy in Davis *et al.*, 2003:286). Finally, Australia and New Zealand's model of community policing is similar to the UK's in that all three countries use a crime prevention approach that emphasises the importance of joint citizen-police efforts to co-produce safety (Davis *et al.*, 2003:286). More importantly, New Zealand appears to have performed remarkably well in terms of developing what is traditionally referred to as "community constables". According to Morgan (in Davis *et al.*, 2003:286), community constables in New Zealand work with citizen groups to allow the rest of the force to continue along the lines of the professional police model.

Conversely, while the abovementioned studies seemed to have focused largely on developed and in particular English-speaking countries, Frühling's (2007:125-144) study is worth noting. The study uniquely traces the origins of community policing using four case studies (São Paulo, Brazil; Villa Nueva, Guatemala; Bogotá, Colombia; and Belo Horizonte, Brazil) in Latin America where historical, cultural, and socioeconomic conditions are different. In accordance with many transitional societies

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(Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa), the move to community policing in Latin America was influenced by the process of democratisation that took place in the 1980s and 1990s (Frühling, 2007:126). Owing to the rapidly changing global environment that was evident in the 1980s and 1990s (post-Cold War era), countries had to swiftly reorient and realign their police practices to suit the norms of democracy, rule of law, and respect for human rights. In addition to this, a need also arose to deal decisively with crime using far more holistic approaches. Davis *et al.* (2003:285-300) therefore deserve to be highlighted because of the intercontinental nature of their study that focused on countries such as Brazil, Haiti, Uganda, and South Africa. A study with an intercontinental focus firmly captures different historical, cultural, political, and socioeconomic realities on the ground.

4.3.1 Community policing models

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 indicate the fundamental differences and similarities between state models of community policing and community-led models of community policing that are currently applicable in different countries across the world. Each model seeks to respond to the history and local context of a country.

Table 4.1: State models of community policing

Countries and models	Activities and strategies
Britain: The British Model of Community Policing	▪ Police community consultative groups ▪ Community police officers use foot patrols ▪ Community involvement in crime prevention partnerships: It is done through neighbourhood watch (Kulanta-Crumtpon in Denney & Jenkins, 2013:18)
France: The French Model of Community Policing – Proximity Policing	▪ Police action is structured around specific localities and districts ▪ Permanent and continuing contact with the local population ▪ Versatile police role encompasses functions from coercion to social service ▪ Substantive responsibilities delegated to the police ▪ Qualities of interpersonal service required of police officers (Casey in Denney & Jenkins, 2013:18)
China: Mass-Line Policing and Building Little Safe and Civilized Communities (BLSCC)	▪ Neighbourhood committees elected by residents and responsible for educating residents on safety, and resolving disputes before they escalate into criminal cases ▪ Work units based in employment settings that serve to discipline individuals, offering rewards, penalties, and providing quasi-justice and para-security functions ▪ Social order joint protection teams collaborate across districts to prevent crime and maintain order (Zhong in Denney & Jenkins, 2013:19)

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Countries and models	Activities and strategies
	▪ Combating crime and maintaining social order is "everyone's business" (Brogden & Nijhar in Denney & Jenkins, 2013:19) ▪ The BLSCC programme helps to encourage cities to meet the standard of Little Safe and Civilized Communities. This includes moral education, harmonious relationships, healthy community culture, and purification of the environment
Canada: Community Policing of Aboriginal Communities in Settler Societies – First Nation Policing in Canada	▪ Ensure personal security and safety of First Nation communities ▪ Access to professional policing ▪ Increased level of police accountability
Brazil: Diverse Practices in Federal States	▪ Foot patrols ▪ Community councils or committees ▪ Suggestion boxes ▪ Emphasis on decentralisation and regionalisation of police activity ▪ Use of geo-processing tools to analyse crime and results and set quantitative goals
Mozambique: Pol Com – Local Adaptations of Community Policing	▪ Voluntary members selected by local populations gather to discuss local security problems ▪ Facilitate patrols and mediate minor conflicts, such as family and neighbour disputes

Source: Denney and Jenkins (2013:18-21)

Table 4.2: Community-led models of community policing

Countries and models	Activities and strategies
Peru: Autonomous Policing	▪ Conduct patrols ▪ Remains largely informal organisation (Gitlitz in Denney & Jenkins, 2013:22)
Nigeria: Plural Policing	▪ Must register with the police ▪ Submit to police screening ▪ Do not carry weapons ▪ Do not detain suspects, but rather hand them over to the police
Tanzania: *Sungusungu*	▪ Confront gangs of thieves ▪ Groups of men patrol their village on a rotational system, protecting property and arresting thieves, and recovering stolen cattle ▪ Rooted in traditional governance mechanisms and elected by democratic village assemblies

Source: Denney and Jenkins (2013:22)

4.4 THE AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

Community policing is mostly relevant and applicable in failed and transitional societies characterised by high crime rates, a police legitimacy crisis, and social instability (Brogden, 2005:65; Brogden & Nijhar, 2005:3). In accordance with this observation, it is not surprising that community policing had to be introduced in Africa's transitional societies. Community policing in Africa has taken many forms in different

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countries, although there is typically no common position on what constitutes community policing. The use of the "African alternative model" is clearly visible in many countries (Baker, 2009:372). In Mozambique, community policing had to be adopted swiftly to democratise and demilitarise policing. In 2000, the Ministry of Interior, through the support of international donors, adopted community policing in response to deep-seated security problems and public disorder. The community policing philosophy was introduced with a view of transforming a partisan, ineffective, under-resourced, and violent police force, but the outcome confirmed unequivocally that the exercise did not achieve its objectives. Kyed (2009:354) argues that the outcome was merely a reproduction of past paramilitary policing cultures. Baker (in Kyed, 2009:354) contends that such an exercise would not have been easy because the Mozambican police force was deeply immersed in colonial and post-colonial paramilitary policing cultures. Mozambique's community policing practices (traditionally referred to as the "African alternative model") are fundamentally based on community police working closely with "community authorities" through traditional leaders and village leaders (Kyed, 2009:355). The Mozambican model of community policing, according to Denney and Jenkins' (2013:21) categorisation, is classified as a state model of community policing; however, challenges such as police violence, corruption, and citizen mistrust in the police still remain. In Mozambique, community authorities are mandated to assist the police – not the other way around.

In addition to the Mozambican case, Baker (2009:372-389) examined the Liberian and South Sudanese community policing situation. Baker (2009:372) found that the community policing model in these countries is totally different from the one practised by the West. Local groups work in partnerships with the police, and they serve as local policing representatives/practitioners assisted by police officials, whereas in the West the police are assisted by local communities. Just like in Mozambique, this practice again is referred to as the "African alternative model". In the context of these countries, local policing is typically provided by customary chiefs (Baker, 2009:372). The common denominator is that the police in fragile states are mostly affected by capacity and legitimacy deficits. This practice is thus partly in accordance with Nield's (n.d.:4) view that community policing traditionally encounters problems in transitional societies. For example, the police forces of former British colonies were trained to stifle

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dissent and maintain colonial rule (Robins, 2009:1). This, in turn, amounted to rising crime rates. Community policing was then perceived as a response to this.

It is thus not surprising that Kenya and Tanzania have long had some form of community policing (mainly self-help) since the 1980s (Ringo & Busagala, 2012:65). In Tanzania, community policing finds expression in the *Sungusungu* vigilantism groups that were organised by the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, around 1980 to 1990, in order to reduce countrywide violent crime (Cross, 2014:519). Unlike the Mozambican community (state-led) policing, the Tanzanian model is community-led (Denney & Jenkins, 2013:22). Emerging mainly as a people's militia, the philosophy of community policing in Tanzania is generally misunderstood (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative in Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:65). In Kenya, police-community relations centre on the following points:

> Police must listen, communicate, give feedback, be problem solvers and be transparent and accountable and effective. Communities must be primary mobilizers of Community Policing Forums (CPFs), and crime prevention strategies arrived at in such forums. They must be prepared to co-operate with the police (implying trust), and they must not have unrealistic expectations of the police (Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:16).

Although slightly more similar to the Western model in terms of using a problem-solving approach and community partnerships as pillars, the Kenyan model of CPFs is largely (if not entirely) similar to most practices on the African continent. Community policing implementation in Kenya was supported by the New York-based Vera Institute of Justice (Ruteere & Pommerrole, 2003:594). According to Denney and Jenkins (2013:23-24), the Kenyan model of community policing therefore falls under models that were sponsored by donors. The Institute supported two local civic organisations, namely the Kenya Human Rights Commission and the Nairobi Central Business District Association. Community policing was perceived as an accurate response to deplorable relations between the Kenyan police force and the citizens, as has been the case in most African countries.

Police-community partnerships in Kenya are, however, still fraught with challenges. The challenges include deepening mistrust between the police and communities, lack of police legitimacy, and, at worst, community policing is used mostly as a palliative measure to all problems, which leads to the conflation of goals (Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:21). Machuki (2015:14) notes several challenges in Kenya's

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community policing model. These include lack of understanding basic community policing principles, access to community policing resources, structural and administrative weaknesses, and socio-cultural challenges. Similarly, lack of trust and legitimacy was also reported in Nigeria's community policing model (Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:33). Denney and Jenkins (2013:22) highlight rising crime rates, poor police-citizen relations, and the unwillingness of the state to provide protection as the basis for the community-led model. The Nigerian model (plural policing) is synonymous with the Tanzanian community-led model of community policing. Different groups (Hisbah – enforcing Sharia laws; Olode – hunters in Jigawa state; and others) took it upon themselves to form community policing structures (Denney & Jenkins, 2013:22). However, after having been subjected to many years of repressive military rule, transforming the police in Nigeria remains a huge conundrum.

In Uganda, community policing is faced with many challenges. These challenges include poor conceptualisation, design, and implementation shortcomings; lack of institutional framework policy; poor selection criteria for appointment; lack of objectives and impact indicators; limited community consultation; police and public reluctance; and limited training and training material (Tindifa & Kiguli in Van der Spuy & Röntsch, 2008:74).

Given the myriad of challenges associated with adapting and adopting the correct models of community policing, Machuki (2015:15) recommends the following steps:

- Effective community policing requires training of both police personnel and community members.
- Effective training aids must ensure the development of new police attitudes, knowledge, and skills and must facilitate the reorientation of perceptions and refinement of existing skills.
- Tactics must be used that can help overcome misperceptions about community policing, including conducting accurate community needs assessments, involving all stakeholders in collecting data to develop community policing strategies, assurance of appropriate resources availability for community programmes, and evaluating and modifying programmes as needed.

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4.5 CASE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA)

The USA was not included inadvertently in this study. Rather, there are many reasons for including the USA. A broad view indicates that the majority of empirical studies on social capital (Landuyt, Lauderdale, Montgomery, Dahlstrom, Lein, Springer, Bell & Chang, 2010:25; Mason, 2010:1-4; Meares, 2002:1593) have been conducted in the developed countries – with particular reference to the USA, UK, and Italy. Of particular importance is that the USA has been the primary focus of Putnam's research. Putnam is traditionally perceived as one of the leading social scientists of the modern era after having written two essential works, namely *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* (in 1995) and *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (in 1993). To this end, Boix and Posner (1998:686-689) hold the view that Putnam's works have significantly changed the way academics and policymakers approach the relationship between politics and society across the world. The USA is thus rightly suited in terms of offering seminal research on how social capital and community policing can complement each other in many respects.

There are also lessons to be learned from the USA with regard to what contributes to the decline and increase in social capital. For example, social capital was reported to be on the decline in the USA. Putnam (in Paxton, 1999:89) contends that America's social capital was declining due to decreased voter turnout and declining group membership. In many respects, this decline may be interpreted as a fundamental change in the USA's history of group joining, giving, and community spirit (Putnam in Hudson & Chapman, 2002:2).

More specifically, the USA is a leading nation in terms of research that focuses exclusively on social capital and COP. Brogden and Nijhar (2005:2) contend that community policing represents the dominant ideology of policing in the USA. Ruteere and Pommerrole (2003:588) maintain that the conception of community policing is attributed to two American scholars, namely James Q. Wilson, a political scientist, and George Kelling, a criminologist. The USA is currently one of the countries with the highest crime statistics, in particular police deaths, in the world, while community policing is seen as a response. Policing reforms signifying a shift from being sectarian and militant to being democratic policing are currently being implemented in the USA. The USA has conducted a wealth of research on the relationship between police

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performance and social capital. Despite this, not much progress has been made in transforming the police institution since there are still cases of police brutality. On the economic front, the USA is currently considered the largest economy in the world – with China's fastest-growing economy being the world's second largest (Amupanda, 2016:53-54; Chen, 2016:100; Mabasa & Mqolomba, 2016:69). Despite the USA's dominance, China's rise could potentially shape the global balance of power (Mabasa & Mqolomba, 2016:69). In this context, Du Pisani (in Amupanda, 2016:54) contends that the Chinese gross domestic product has exceeded that of its former colonial master (Japan). China constantly interacts and maintains relations with virtually every country on earth (if not all of them), including developing and underdeveloped countries, as well as major powers – particularly the USA (Chen, 2016:101).

On the political front, China and the USA are conceivably seen as rivals. Despite competing interests, the common denominator is that both countries have signed many bilateral and multilateral agreements with most of the African countries, including South Africa (Mabasa & Mqolomba, 2016:69). The USA's footprint in Africa is primarily visible in peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes.

4.5.1 The history of community policing in the USA

Until the 20th century, the USA's police departments functioned via the guidelines set out under the "professional" model of policing (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5). The idea was to respond to cases relating to crime, fear, and social disorder as they appear. As such, this model was not merely reactionary but was hierarchical, and standardised operational procedures were applied (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5). Wilson and Weiss (2012:v) purport that a need arose to proactively deal with crime. The focus then shifted dramatically to a community-orientated model of policing. During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, more and more communities in the USA began to embrace and adopt community policing. Shortly after the passing of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act in 1994, a huge amount of money was spent on ensuring that the new model permeated all police departments.

Lawrence and McCarthy (2013:5) argue that $8.8 billion in federal aid was used to support community policing efforts in 1994. The money also helped to establish the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office). The COPS Office,

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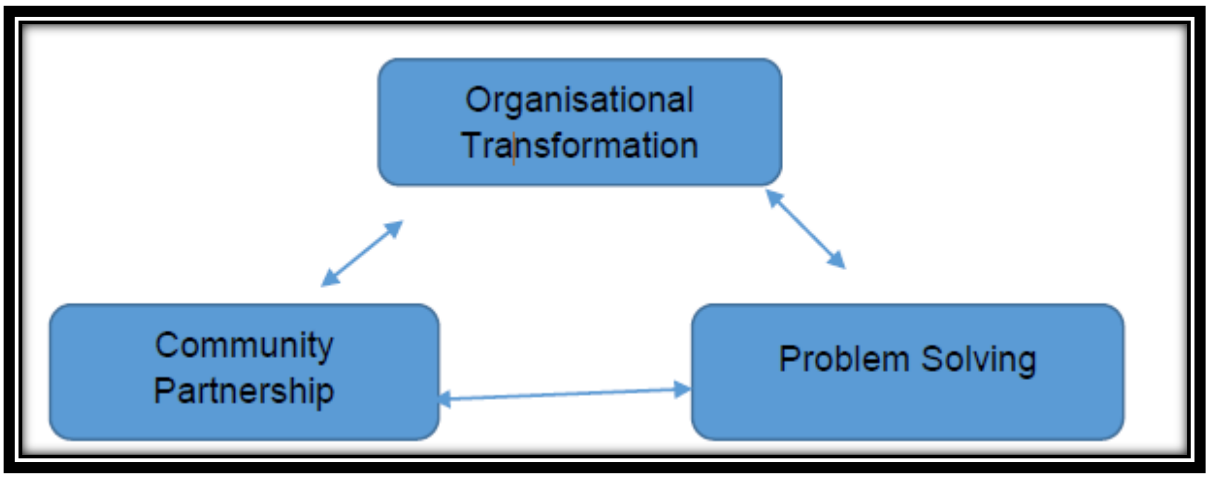
according to Wilson and Weiss (2012:v), invested $14 billion in a bid to appoint more community police officers to work on the streets, enhance crime-fighting technology, crime prevention, and training and technical assistance. A survey conducted in police departments showed that 20% of them employed the community policing model in 1994 (Connell, Miggans and McGloin in Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5). The figure rose to 58% employment of the community police model in 1997, and rose to 68% in 2003 (Connell *et al*. in Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5). In 2013, the figure increased further to 81%, which meant that most police departments employed the community police model (COPS Office in Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5). Skogan and Hartnett (in Wu *et al*., 2011:286) assert that the success of the implementation of community policing in the USA can be attributed to a combination of careful planning and collaborative efforts by politicians, police officers, and the public at large.

4.5.2 Categories of community policing in the USA

Despite a lack of uniform understanding of the practice, community policing in the USA is largely understood to mean three broad categories, namely organisational transformation, community partnership, and problem solving (Docobo, 2005:1-3; IACP, 2015:11; Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5; Wilson & Weiss, 2012:v).

Figure 5.1 illustrates the categories of community policing in the USA and how they carry out their functions.

Figure 4.1: Categories of community policing in the USA



Source: Author's adaptation of Docobo (2005:2-3)

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4.5.2.1 Organisational transformation

As part of community policing, organisational transformation refers to the "integration of the community policing philosophy into the mission statement, policies and procedures, performance evaluations, hiring and promotional practices, systems, training programs and organizational culture" (COPS Office in Docobo, 2005:3).

Based on decentralisation, organisational transformation means that there are fewer top-down policy directives, fewer hierarchical lines, and easy decision making between police officers and the communities in which they are deployed (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:5). Police officers are therefore given authority to make decisions that they see fit in their operations. In a nutshell, this implies the alignment of organisational management, structure, personnel, and information systems to support community policing and problem solving (Wilson & Weiss, 2012:61).

4.5.2.2 Community partnership

Central to the notion of community policing in the USA is the principle that communities need to be constantly empowered in order to be able to prevent crime. This can be achieved if a strong mutual trust between citizens and police officers is built and maintained (Docobo, 2005:2). The partnerships serve to develop solutions to problems and build trust. In a community partnership setup, police officers and citizens jointly prioritise and tackle safety-related issues (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:7). Community partners also include neighbourhood associations, FBOs, tenant councils, business groups, local government agencies, social service providers, schools, colleges, and universities (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:7). In order for partnerships to be strong, there needs to be a culture of ongoing information sharing and frequent contact (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:7). The IACP (2015:21) argues that improving community partnership and collaboration can be done through the following:

- Identify meaningful ways to engage and partner with the community such as allowing them to participate in the police department's strategic planning process;
- Choose appropriate community member partners with whom to engage;
- Conduct meetings in a congenial, productive, and efficient manner; and
- Create a citizen advisory board in order to share power.

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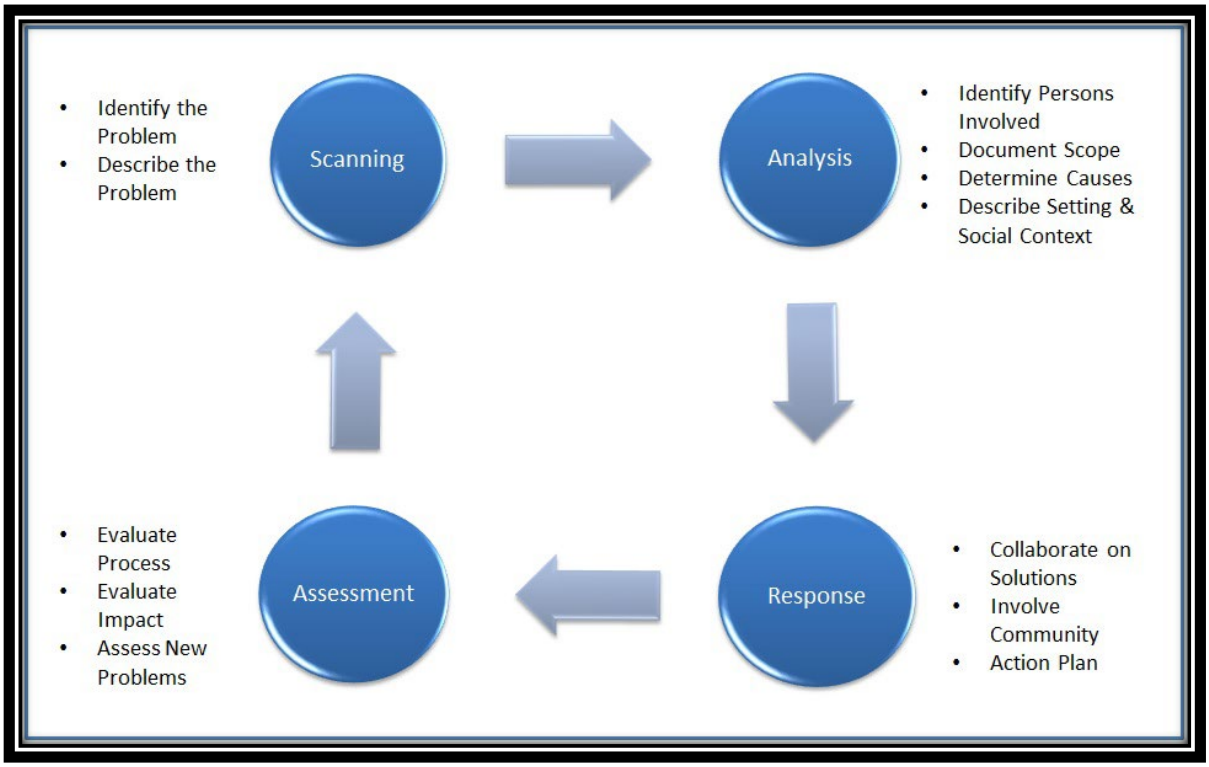
4.5.2.3 Problem solving

Wilson and Weiss (2012:61) define problem solving as the process of engaging in the proactive and systematic examination of identified problems to develop and rigorously evaluate effective responses. Problem solving emphasises the shift from more reactionary approaches to crime to more proactive approaches. It seeks to identify specific social issues that might lead to criminal activity (Lawrence & McCarthy, 2013:7). Problem-oriented policing forces police officers to understand and detect relationships that lead to crime and disorder before anything happens (Docobo, 2005:2). Lawrence and McCarthy (2013:9-10) used the Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (SARA) model to illustrate problem-oriented policing strategies, as illustrated in Figure 5.2.

Figure 4.2: The Scanning, Analysis, Response, and Assessment (SARA) model



Source: Lawrence and McCarthy (2013:9-10)

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4.5.3 Mechanisms to improve police-community relationships in the USA

The IACP (2015:20-21) argues that the following mechanisms, strategies, and/or methods are central to improving police-community relationships:

4.5.3.1 Citizen police academies (community police academies)

These provide citizens with an opportunity to understand the main focus of the police department and how they can contribute to preventing crime.

4.5.3.2 Engaging key community leaders

Key community leaders are able to correct the mistakes and/or incorrect information that is shared with the community. They are useful in calming down the community in cases where citizens are deeply discontent. This may be key to avoiding community demonstrations or protests.

4.5.3.3 Sending clear, personal messages to new officers

New police officers need to be informed of the importance of ethical behaviour, respect, and building relationships with the community. This helps newly appointed officers to understand the value system and the philosophy of community-police relations.

4.5.3.4 Citizen surveys

Citizen surveys normally serve as a constant feedback mechanism regarding the community's perception of the police. Surveys are used to make the required changes as suggested by the citizens.

Correspondingly, Lawrence and McCarthy's (2013:12) research found the following factors to be key to ensuring the successful implementation of the community policing philosophy in the USA:

- Form community partnerships with a wide range of partners, above and beyond active resident groups;
- Increase the department's accessibility to the residents it serves;

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- Train personnel at every level of the department in best practices in community policing;
- Work towards increasing officer buy-in of the benefits of the community policing philosophy;
- Prioritise sustained and meaningful commitment by the department's leadership to the community policing philosophy;
- Integrate community policing activities into performance evaluation systems; and
- Support systematic and standardised problem-solving approaches.

Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (in Diamond & Weiss, 2009:4) assert that there are ten principles of community policing in the USA. These are change, leadership, vision, partnership, problem solving, equity, trust, empowerment, service, and accountability. These principles underpin and guide community policing practices and strategies.

4.5.4 Challenges facing community policing in the USA

Skogan (in Zhong, 2009:157) mentions a number of challenges that complicate and stifle the development and effectiveness of the community policing model in the USA. These include cultural diversity, high mobility, and strong orientation towards individual rights rather than collective responsibilities. According to Skogan (in Zhong, 2009:157), these challenges make it difficult for neighbourhood residents to reach consensus about the need to take a specific action, mobilise, and work together. Diamond and Weiss (2009:10) further state that challenges normally stem from four focus areas, namely the department, the community, the municipality, and the nation. In terms of departmental challenges, they contend that "recruiting, hiring, and retaining service-oriented officers is one of the biggest challenges facing the policing profession" (Diamond & Weiss, 2009:10). In terms of the community, police departments are still faced with a challenge of reinforcing the community policing philosophy. Thirdly, instituting change has proven to be extremely difficult and elusive (Diamond & Weiss, 2009:10). Funding shortfalls, politics of public safety, poor collaboration, and policymaking are some of the challenges that confront community policing (Diamond & Weiss, 2009:10-20).

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4.6 CASE STUDY OF CHINA

China as a case study is worth mentioning in research that involves social capital and community policing because China is directly affected by and provides an interesting case in terms of understanding how the relations between the police and communities are built. This is especially so because trust in the police in China remains a serious issue (Sun *et al*., 2012:87). China is one of the transitional states that is still going through social, political, and economic reforms. Although China is a typical example of a successful developmental state, the desired economic reforms are still incomplete in the country (Amupanda, 2016:54). China is considered a developing country and it is unique in many respects when compared to the USA. On the political front, China remains an authoritarian and socialist society (Mabasa & Mqolomba, 2016:69), while the USA is a democratic and capitalist society.

China supported African countries during the days of African struggles against colonialism and apartheid (Amupanda, 2016:53). Africa-China relations are also reinforced by common challenges such as poverty and inequality. Despite being the world's fastest-growing economy, China still remains a developing country partly because of its per capita income that is still a fraction of that in advanced countries. Economic inequality is rising. Similar to most African states, China has persistent economic/social inequality (Mabasa & Mqolomba, 2016:69). Adversaries of China-Africa relations have increasingly become very circumspect in recent years. China in this regard is increasingly viewed as a new coloniser in Africa due to extracting African resources and dumping Chinese products on the continent (Chen, 2016:101). To this end, Lopes (2016:56) purports that China is Africa's single largest trading partner, accounting for approximately 15% of the continent's trade, while Africa accounts for only 5% of Chinese trade. This asymmetric power relationship is ostensibly used to further boost Chinese ambitions of becoming a global player.

On the economic front, not only is China an active trading partner (through Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa [BRICS]) with South Africa, but its economy is growing at a relatively rapid pace, despite considerable growth in social inequality, deepening poverty, social disorder, and low per capita income. Across the African continent, China has become Africa's top trading partner and a source of foreign direct investment, overtaking the USA and European Union member states (Alden &

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Chichava in Amupanda, 2016:54; Lopes, 2016:56). China is currently playing a significant role in Africa, and this is enhanced by seamlessly growing China-Africa relations. The involvement of China in Africa has increased since 2000, following the institutionalisation of the platform called the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (Chen, 2016:101). In a Beijing meeting in 2000, 45 African countries met with China to discuss cooperation and collaborative arrangements on matters pertaining to social, political, and economic aspects. China also has internal problems; for example, the police-community ratio is still not adequate in China (Zhong, 2009:157).

Although slight developments are evident in China regarding a move away from practically authoritarian policing to more democratic and human rights-orientated policing, policing by far remains authoritarian in China (Mabasa & Mqolomba, 2016:69; Xu, 2014:439). This is due in part to the fact that police officers are basically trained to protect the Chinese Communist-party state (Bakken in Xu, 2014:439). This, in turn, resembles most African states where there are incessant reports of militant and violent policing (put differently, police brutality), despite remarkable progress in the implementation of police reforms and police legitimacy (Hosken, 2013:1; Rauch & Van der Spuy, 2006:21-22; Suttner, 2014:24-25). Chinese police reforms (from mass-line policing to community policing) are still in the early stages. Police brutality and a host of criminal activities committed by police officers are still relatively high in China. In the political arena, China has signed many bilateral and multilateral agreements with African states aimed at ensuring economic, political, and social integration (largely in the form of the BRICS bloc) (Taylor, 2016:39; Van der Merwe, 2016:3; Wenzel, 2016:177). As a consequence, it is necessary to understand how social capital in these countries is used to supplement, accelerate, promote, and improve community policing, or vice versa, by alleviating the fear of crime (Gibson, Zhao, Lovrich & Gaffney in Choi, 2010:2; Lyons, 2002:8). Social capital empowers citizens by reducing fear (Lyons, 2002:8).

4.6.1 The history of community policing in China

Being a predominantly Western-developed model in a non-Western country, research on the Chinese traditional style of community policing is intriguing – particularly because policing has always been known to be authoritarian and serving the Communist-party state's interests. The implementation of community policing in China

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is divided into three periods, namely mass-line policing (1949-1980), strike-hard policing (1981-2001), and community policing (since 2002) (Zhong, 2009:158). The first policing period focused on prioritising the role of the masses (the community). The second policing period focused on implementing punitive measures to curb crime and restore social order. The third policing period (community policing) reverted back to viewing community partnerships as a viable crime prevention strategy (Zhong, 2009:158).

While it can be argued that in the past Chinese traditional policing practices may have consistently demonstrated a strong partnership between citizens and the police (communitarian society), the country has not completely gotten rid of authoritarian elements. One group of scholars is therefore of the view that not much has changed regardless of introducing community policing. To this end, Xu (2014:439) argues that although there are significant economic and social changes that are evident in the country, China remains an authoritarian regime. As such, the main role of the police thus "remains to protect the Chinese Communist-party state and maintain its power" (Bakken in Xu, 2014:439). However, despite being perceived as a fundamentally authoritarian country, thorough scrutiny indicates that China has become relatively less repressive and more inclusive in the past few years (Yan & Dickson in Xu, 2014:441). It is argued that soft authoritarianism is believed to have risen in China. This, stated differently, can be considered as a massive stride towards the period of community policing.

Against this backdrop, it is thus not surprising why it took long for the community policing philosophy to be officially introduced in China. Community policing was not launched as a concept and strategy until 2002 (Ministry of Public Safety in Wu *et al*., 2011:286). Akin to a plethora of transitional societies, great enthusiasm and embodiment of the philosophy culminated in its incorporation into the Chinese police reforms. Just like in the USA, the move to the new philosophy was perceived as a viable and proactive response to reduce crime rates, root out corruption, and improve poor working relations between citizens and the police (Zhong in Wu *et al*., 2011:286). The other group of scholars present the counterargument that implementing community policing should have been an effortless exercise partly because China is communitarian. Zhong (2009:157) accentuates that "policing in China is by nature in the community, for the community, and by the community". Indeed, despite a general

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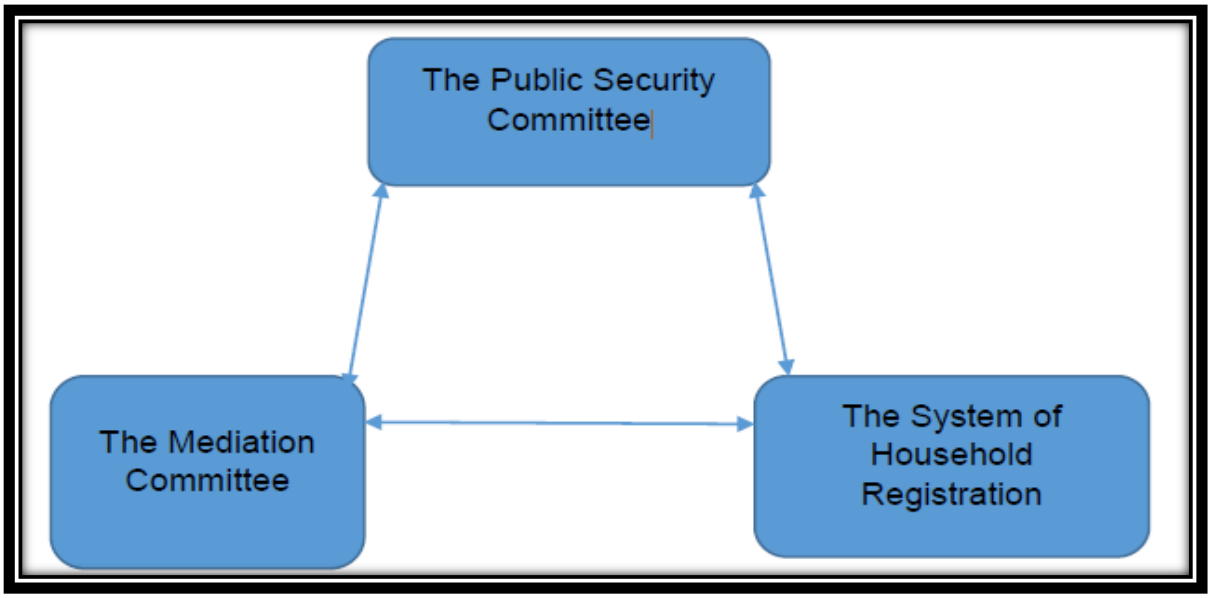
impression that China is currently in the community policing (post-2002) period, there are still opposing views. These views hold that not much has changed, except that there is a gradual move away from authoritarian practices.

4.6.2 Categories of community policing in China

Like in the USA, China also has different categories of community policing that are used. Figure 5.3 depicts the categories of community policing in the Chinese context.

Figure 4.3: Categories of community policing in China



Source: Author's adaptation of Chen (2002:4-8)

Prior to outlining these functions, it is crucial to point out that the word "community" in China is understood differently than in the Western perspective. Community is basically understood in terms of geographical terms (Chen, 2002:2). Hence, delineating and distinguishing on grassroots and neighbourhood level get blurred and there are overlaps.

4.6.2.1 The Public Security Committee

Firstly, based at the grassroots level, the Public Security Committee is found in virtually all communities in China. While acting as a link between the police and the masses, the Public Security Committee is charged with the responsibility of improving and maintaining public order (Chen, 2002:4-5). The committee typically consists of local cadres and interested persons of the neighbourhood, including retired people.

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The ability to handle public affairs, ideological correctness, and a positive personality are some of the most commonly used selection criteria to be elected and serve on the Public Security Committee (Chen, 2002:4-5).

4.6.2.2 The Mediation Committee

Secondly, the Mediation Committee is found at the neighbourhood level. In the domain of law enforcement, the Chinese favour mediation over litigation. As a consequence, it is not surprising that China traditionally prefers behaviour that adheres to moral values than behaviour that is forced by law and fear of punishment (Li in Chen, 2002:4). Mediation is thus preferred and the Mediation Committee is typically charged with the responsibility of settling civil disputes and disposing of some cases such as theft and fighting. In other words, it seeks to educate citizens about the consequences of not complying with the law. Ideological correctness and some level of law enforcement experience are required in order to be considered to serve on the committee. In line with the Public Security Committee practice, members are elected to serve on the Mediation Committee.

4.6.2.3 The System of Household Registration

Finally, the System of Household Registration is also used. Unlike the previous two committees that are situated at neighbourhood/grassroots level, the System of Household Registration is found at the city level. It essentially requires that “any urban resident who wishes to obtain a regular job, school admission at all levels, housing, passport or marriage certificate … must have valid household registration” (Chen, 2002:6). This system seeks to maintain social order, protect the citizens’ rights and interests, and serve socialist construction (The Regulations on Household Registration in the People’s Republic of China in Chen, 2002:6). The system also monitors and controls the massive movement of the rural population to the cities. It is believed that uncontrolled rural-urban movement poses a threat to public security and social order (Chen, 2002:6). As part of ensuring policing and social control, this system monitors the movement of citizens in order to improve public security.

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4.6.3 Challenges facing community policing in China

Although community policing is generally viewed as a continuation of mass-line policing in China, there have been mixed reactions. To this end, community policing has been embraced by some practitioners and academics and rejected by some who hold the view that it is similar to “mass-line” policing that has long been in practice (Zhou in Zhong, 2009:157). These opponents are of the view that it is a repetition of a long-term practice and has nothing new to offer (Leng in Zhong, 2009:157). Zhong (2009:157) mostly perceives a move to community policing as “old wine in new bottles”. Hence, it was expected that there would be some form of resistance from different sectors of communities regarding its validity and uniqueness when measured against the old practices that have been used in China since 1949.

4.6.4 Similarities and differences between China and the USA

In terms of the similarities, it is worth noting that both countries have a set of objectives aimed at achieving community policing. The countries firmly believe that it is the appropriate philosophy (or practice) to prevent and reduce crime. The understanding, approach, and application of community policing are not the same. There are many differences. Firstly, China is different from the USA in terms of controlling and preventing crime. The American philosophy of community policing mainly perceives the police as the main vehicle for ensuring social control and the citizens provide help (Wong in Wu *et al*., 2011:289). In this case, it is expected that the role of the police is typically perceived as being primary and formal, while the citizens’ role is typically perceived as being secondary and informal (Wu *et al*., 2011:289). According to the American philosophy, the citizens are perceived as providing assistance to the police. Chen (2002:1) maintains that the social control functions in China are based on macro-control systems that are typically not similar to the Western model typified by Weberian ideals. The Chinese model is based on Confucian/Maoist ideologies and emphasises communal existence (Brogden & Nijhar in Denney & Jenkins, 2013:17).

Secondly, the Chinese generally believe that the community should play a massive role in curbing crime and social problems. Chen (2002:1) contends that the community is an important institution of social control in China. Placing more emphasis on mass-line policing, the Chinese approach is centred on the philosophy that the police are

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supposed to work with the community. Bracey (in Wu *et al*., 2011:289) argues that in China the police traditionally provide “back-up services for the citizens”. As Chen (2002:1) observes, mass participation plays an integral part. The Chinese scenario indicates that the community is primary and the police are secondary in terms of the order of importance. In the USA, such an arrangement is practically impossible and generally unheard of because policing is considered a highly valued and highly skilled profession. Chen (2002:2) thus briefly outlines the Chinese arrangement as follows: “Community has become both an arm of higher-level control and a means by which the community can manage and solve its own affairs …” Stated differently, community members have been given key decision-making powers and do not rely solely on the government. This is achieved through neighbourhood committees that are available throughout China. In this setup, the community must ensure that the residents comply with the law, and maintain social order.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to offer a comparative analysis of the practical application of community policing in different countries. This was done with the aim of elucidating what can and what cannot work for the South African situation. Although the main focus was on comparing and contrasting the Chinese and American experiences or models, many examples were drawn from different countries around the world in order to best explain and illustrate viable models of community policing. The strategies, plans, and techniques used by different countries were discussed. The chapter showed that there are different interpretations of community policing and that there is not a uniform model for implementing community policing. It thus became clear that there are various ways of implementing community policing in Western, Asian, African, and Latin American countries. Although there is some misunderstanding of what community policing entails, the chapter showed that each country applies it differently to suit its local context and history.

The following chapter confines itself to police-community relations in the context of South Africa.

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CHAPTER 5: POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA

For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others – Nelson Mandela

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The foregoing analysis of SCT, trust-building, and COP in Chapters 2 and 3 briefly introduced debates on police-community relations at a broader conceptual level. Chapter 4 took the debate to a much broader (or global) level using two case studies. This chapter seeks to confine itself to critiquing and analysing the relations at an operational level in the South African context. The foregoing analysis of the nexus of social capital and community policing is relevant in South Africa given the adversarial (or rather confrontational) conditions in which the police and communities co-existed during apartheid. Under the apartheid regime, South Africa was traditionally characterised by a socially disorganised, racially divided, and fragmented society, wherein large segments of black communities were opposed to (and afraid of) the South African Police (SAP). Scholarly arguments in this regard reveal that the SAP unjustly sought to protect, serve, and advance the interests of a white minority at the expense of black counterparts. To achieve this, the SAP wilfully suppressed blacks and denied them access to certain places and privileges. The police, in turn, lost legitimacy and their credibility was severely tarnished. Racially divisive policing styles were at odds with the police's primary responsibility of combating crime to ensure social cohesion. Consequently, trust between the police and communities diminished. Furthermore, these policing styles led to crime decreasing on the one side with resources and increasing on the other side without resources.

With the advent of democracy in 1994, a much more representative, fair, legitimate, accountable, transparent, and human rights-orientated policing had to be put in place to undo the injustices and irrationality of the past, and to rekindle legitimacy. The signing of the National Peace Accord (NPA) and the Code of Conduct, the implementation of police reforms along with CPFs, were used as a new policing style in the post-apartheid era. The foundational principles of CPFs were therefore, first and foremost, based on building partnerships, trust, and reciprocal relations between the police and communities, which were deteriorating.

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Against this backdrop, this chapter starts by analysing the history of policing in South Africa in order to elucidate the circumstances that led to the establishment of CPFs. The chapter further discusses the origin of South Africa's traditional COP (or CPFs) philosophy and practice. It then examines the functions of CPFs, and ends by evaluating the challenges that face CPFs in South Africa.

5.2 THE HISTORY OF POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

Under apartheid, the travesty and the absurdity with which the police conducted themselves invited a great deal of criticism from different sectors. The decisions made by the SAP were mainly clouded by an extreme dislike of black communities, and thereby wittingly (or unwittingly) perpetuated and escalated crime. Inevitably, such behaviour had adverse consequences especially for black communities as it threatened and undermined social cohesion, which is an essential component of social capital and building trust. Most black communities thus lost trust in the SAP (Minnaar, 2010:189). The fear of crime is a major social problem since it effectively constrains efforts by the government and non-state actors to promote socially cohesive and caring communities (Roberts & Gordon, 2016:49). Hence, without social cohesion under apartheid, the community could not act as a united force, and social controls within communities were weakened (Lamb, 2019:365-366). To this end, social cohesion is defined as "the glue that holds society together" (Janmaat in Cloete, 2014:1). Janmaat (in Cloete, 2014:1) further defines social cohesion as "the property that keeps the society from falling apart". It is thus within this context that crime in South Africa potentially threatens social cohesion and remains fundamentally detrimental to economic growth and employment creation. Crime is among the most difficult challenges that face the country in the post-apartheid era (Demombynes & Ozler, 2005:2). This challenge is partly linked with the era of apartheid. The decades of apartheid divided, stifled, and hampered any form of community initiatives in South Africa (Nel & McQuaid, n.d.:3).

From controlling crime in a deeply divided society, policing had to evolve and adapt to the changing political, economic, and social landscape. Expectedly, scholars (Brown, 2016:43; Mabunda, 2014:18-19; Montesh, 2007:52-70; Smith, 2008:22-28) have paid attention to the fundamental policy developments within the policing environment in South Africa, and have reached consensus that, on the whole, such developments

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were intended to bring about democratic policing. Additionally, the said scholars also share similar sentiments regarding the stages through which policing has traversed. In particular, Brown (2016:43) identifies three fundamental stages that policing has traversed during the transition from apartheid to the democratic era. The identified stages are policing in South Africa pre-1994, the NPA, and policing in South Africa post-1994. Although much emphasis is placed on the post-1994 era, it is advisable to reflect on the number of significant developments that occurred before 1994 in order to discern and demystify how they directly or indirectly influenced what is currently happening.

5.2.1 Policing before 1994

The periods 1910 to 1948 (Union of South Africa – colonial era) and 1948 to 1994 (otherwise widely known as the apartheid era) were marked by major policy shifts. According to Montesh (2007:55), the Union Constitution (the Imperial Parliament) was passed by the British Parliament, which gave rise to the Union of South Africa. The Police Act (in particular section 7 of the Police Act of 1958), under the guardianship of the then Minister of Justice, prescribed the role and the powers of the police. A pertinent distinction that is worth pointing out around the colonial period is that the police showed “relative liberalism and leniency towards Africans” (Nasson in Brown, 2016:43). Under colonialism, the English were in control and this lasted until 1948, when the apartheid regime was formally introduced. As from 1948, Afrikaner nationalism replaced English control. Subsequent to the change in leadership, notable differences were visible in the police arena – the key state machinery for enforcing the rules. The said differences were characterised by radical changes in operations, strategies, and tactics. For example, the SAP was primarily used to safeguard the interests of Afrikaner nationalism as opposed to safeguarding and protecting all citizens (Brown, 2016:43). The SAP mainly employed poor white Afrikaners and black males to serve as police officers. However, despite the non-racial attitude, Rauch (in Brown, 2016:44) contends that black police officers received lower wages than their white counterparts.

Montesh (2007:55) purports that fundamental discrepancies in wages led to severe challenges, which adversely affected operations within the SAP. In the midst of challenges that undermined the performance of the SAP, the transformation agenda

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was swiftly (or almost impulsively) introduced as a tool to level the playing field. As a precursor to the transformation agenda, the Britt Commission was established to conduct an investigation into the best modalities and strategies to restructure the police in 1988. Upon completing the investigation, the Britt Commission recommended that instead of being a strictly centralised institution, the SAP needed to become a decentralised programme (Montesh, 2007:55). In accordance with the commission's recommendations, in August 1991 changes became evident within the SAP in terms of placing fierce emphasis on improving relations between the police and communities and in the manner in which the police conducted their operations. According to Rauch (2000:2), this was typically in response to the pressures that were exerted after the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of liberation movements in 1990.

However, this was not going to be an effortless exercise because of the disintegration and deeply entrenched division within the policing sector in the late 1980s up to the early 1990s. For example, scholars such as Rauch (2000:1), Rauch and Van der Spuy (in Brown, 2016:44), as well as Gastrow and Shaw (2001:262) highlight that eleven police agencies operated within the boundaries of South Africa. This, in many respects, created major problems in terms of standardisation and adhering to uniform standards, as well as maintaining consistency in terms of devising effective strategies to combat crime. With regard to these divisions, the SAP (mainly perceived as a custodian of white interests) operated in the mainlands, while other police agencies operated mostly in the homelands throughout the country, namely Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda, QwaQwa, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, and KwaNgwane (Brown, 2016:44). As a consequence, responses to criminal acts differed fundamentally in the sense that the police responded rapidly if the crime was committed in predominantly white areas, as opposed to in black communities. This created major disparities in terms of service delivery, safety and security, and living conditions, and, despite the recommendations made by the Britt Commission in 1988, the SAP continued to be plagued by a militaristic style of policing and rigid hierarchies (Montesh, 2007:56). Faull (2007:2) argues that the SAP "was the bastion of the apartheid state".

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Following the failure of several attempts, a new plan had to be developed in order for the SAP to be able to extricate itself from the quagmire. According to Rauch (2000:2), the SAP's 1991 Strategic Plan highlighted six areas of change, namely:

- depoliticisation of the police force;
- increased community accountability;
- more visible policing;
- establishing improved and effective management practices;
- reforming the police training system (including some racial integration); and
- restructuring the police force.

In addition, because of growing emphasis on managing crime and political violence and intolerance, the NPA was signed in September 1991.

5.2.2 The National Peace Accord (NPA) of September 1991

Scholars such as Montesh (2007:56-7), Pelser (1999:1-17), and Brown (2016:45) unequivocally confirm that the NPA was designed to creatively manage, contain, and minimise political violence that engulfed the country during the transition from apartheid to democracy. This took place in the form of a multi-party peace summit. Expectedly, the NPA presented various tactics, strategies, and structures that were meant to prevent and decisively deal with uncontrollable inter-group conflict. The said peace summit created a conducive environment for the ANC, IFP, and the National Party-led government to reach an agreement. The agreement culminated in the signing of the NPA on 14 September 1991. To this end, Pelser (in Brown, 2016:45) argues that the NPA resolved that

> [t]he police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political affiliation, race, religion, gender or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts. The police shall be guided by the belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall therefore conduct themselves so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public.

Inevitably, the resolutions that were agreed on were definitely part and parcel of minimising widespread police misconduct, reducing animosity between the police and communities, and sought to build and ensure police legitimacy. The NPA further

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maintained that the police had to “preserve the fundamental and constitutional rights of each individual in South Africa” (Pelser in Brown, 2016:45).

5.2.3 Policing after 1994

As shown in the foregoing analysis, prior to 1994, policing in South Africa was mostly authoritarian – the police structures were centralised on a strict command and control hierarchy, and the police was a militaristic force (Mufamadi in Holtmann, 2009:21). Indeed, the militaristic culture was adopted in order to ostensibly preserve and protect the interests of the apartheid government. As a consequence, the central role of the police was typically reduced to dealing with those (largely blacks) who were in opposition to apartheid policies (Lamb, 2019:366; Minnaar, 2010:189; Zondi & Ukpere, 2014:4). To this end, Emmet (2001:1) maintains that the apartheid system created a situation where social controls within communities could not work properly, thereby forcing citizens not to comply with the law. Weakened social controls among black communities included schools, families, communities, and labour markets. These were created and perpetuated by a political system that was primarily based on white supremacy (Silber & Geffen, 2009:36). Under these conditions, it was not surprising that black communities grappled with a repressive and sectarian police force (Zondi & Ukpere, 2014:4).

With the advent of democracy in 1994, the post-apartheid era created an environment where a fundamental shift of mindset in terms of the approaches to policing was inevitable. The biggest challenge for the post-apartheid (ANC-led) government was to ensure transformation and nation-building on many levels of society (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005:428). This was partly because the new democratic government inherited a deeply divided society. More accountable, inclusive, transparent, and non-discriminatory policing techniques were introduced. Among the most intractable challenges the democratic government had to deal with was high unemployment, inequality, poverty, restructuring the economy, and high levels of crime (Breetzke in Brown, 2016:43). Breetzke (in Brown, 2016:43) specifically mentions that high levels of crime were mainly caused by the influx of migrant labour, a dysfunctional criminal justice system, inequality, and the availability of drugs and firearms.

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An autocratic and repressive system created mistrust and animosity between the police and citizens in South Africa (Brown, 2016:43). In light of confrontational relations that existed between the police and black communities, an approach with a great deal of emphasis on community participation (CPF) had to be adopted and implemented swiftly to build and restore trust. Skolnick (2008:36) warns that for police reforms to succeed, they should not be taken lightly because of the politics embedded in them. Holtmann (2009:21) accentuates that because more emphasis was placed on preserving, protecting, and advancing apartheid policies, the challenges of the new democratic dispensation came at a time when there was low capacity to handle and manage crime control and crime prevention. Taking into account the post-1994 situation, these changes needed to be democratic, broad-based, non-racial, and inclusive. Furthermore, taking into account that there was widespread intolerance, Marks (2003:235) argues that policing in the post-apartheid South Africa needs to be tolerant, community orientated, and democratic. However, in bringing about changes such as community policing, Skolnick (2008:36) warns that there would always be mixed results as adversaries may tend to label the police reforms as part of being “soft on crime”.

5.2.4 Post-apartheid policing: The epitome of “old wine in a new bottle”?

Generally, inculcating a culture of new police reforms and law-abiding citizens has never been an effortless exercise in South Africa as the challenges have become increasingly more intractable and dynamic. The advent of democracy alone was not sufficient to erase the persistent culture of violence that dominated the apartheid era (Kynoch, 2005:493). Although there were major symbolic changes to undo the atrocities of the past such as renaming the SAP to the SAPS and an amalgamation of independent police forces in each of the black African “homelands” (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:262; Shaw & Shearing, 1998:6), mixing former policemen and policewomen (good or bad) to be part of the new SAPS did not bode well (Scharf, 2001:75). The SAPS was founded in 1995 (Faull, 2011a:1). The legitimacy crisis that was previously the order of the day continued to be a central feature of the new system. For example, the police assisted the IFP’s attacks on ANC supporters in townships and “homelands” before 1994 (Gordon, 2001:129). Presently, cases of police corruption are reported to be on the increase as many police officers are implicated in wrongdoing (Faull, 2007:4,

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2011a:1, 2011b:1-17; Newham, 2002:2-3; Tiscornia, 2011:4). Conflicting agendas were also carried over. Young and inexperienced black police officers were leapfrogged to senior positions (Burger in Vollenhoven, 2013). The apartheid police had little interest and enthusiasm to respond to crime committed in black communities, but they formed part of the new era (Shaw & Shearing, 1998:4).

Instead of phasing out authoritarian and brutal policing, research (Marks & Wood, 2010:311; Mkhize, 2015:198-199) shows that the conduct of the police continues to epitomise the apartheid style of policing, especially when the police deal with service delivery protests. Partly, in the midst of a high number of police deaths (usually in the line of duty), former president Jacob Zuma, along with the then National Police Commissioner Bheki Cele, implemented the “shoot to kill” strategy in order to simultaneously reduce crime and allow the police to use their firearms to protect themselves. This, in turn, led to public outcry and increased cases of police brutality, typically reminiscent of the apartheid era (Jeffery in Mkhize, 2015:196). Bruce (in Mkhize, 2015:198) provides detailed statistical evidence that before the Zuma administration (1997-2004), incidents of police brutality appeared on average to be on the verge of diminishing. Specifically, according to that observation, a sharp decrease was noted in 2002 and 2003.

However, cases involving the police killing innocent civilians increased significantly from 2004 to 2012 (Municipal IQ Hotspots Monitor in Mkhize, 2015:198). As Scharf (1989:207) argues, paramilitary activities like the killing of civilians were mainly directed at black communities in the late 1980s. The killing of Andries Tatane (an innocent civilian) who was protesting over poor service delivery in Ficksburg in April 2011 partially explains the re-emergence of paramilitary policing. The incident was criticised not only by the local but also the international community. Tatane participated in a service delivery protest that was relatively peaceful before the arrival of the police. A stand-off between the police and protesters soon broke out.

Similarly, after Tatane’s well-publicised incident, the police were also heavily criticised for killing a taxi driver (Mido Macia, a Mozambican) in an incident that did not involve a service delivery protest. After being dragged by a police van, Macia was killed ruthlessly. This sign of cruelty and extreme disregard for the rule of law and human rights typified by the police in the post-democratic era reveals that not much has

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changed in how the police conduct themselves when confronted with situations such as crowd management (Omar, 2006:7). Omar (2006:11) goes on to argue that crowd management has been primarily neglected. Ordinary police officials are mostly performing public order policing duties. As a result of the misuse, they cannot effectively and harmoniously handle the violent crowds.

Stand-offs between the police and protesters clearly resemble the well-documented atrocities of the white minority government, such as the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 where 69 people were killed and 180 wounded, and the Soweto Uprising in 1976 where 176 people were killed and several wounded (Gordon, 2001:128). Similar to the Sharpeville Massacre was the Marikana Massacre, where the police killed 34 striking Lonmin miners in August 2016. Premised on what was viewed as an illegal strike, the police killed 34 miners (and 78 miners were left wounded), while others were later arrested.

As seen through the lenses of the Marikana Massacre, and the killing of Macia and Tatane, the police continue to be the instigators and instrumentalists of torture (Gordon, 2001:129). Police actions certainly have unintended consequences in terms of police legitimacy. Firstly, such police actions did not augur well for the transformation agenda characterised by police reforms. Secondly, this also negatively affects trust between the police and the communities in which they operate. In this context, scholars (Duncan, 2012:54; Marks & Wood, 2010:312) have advanced essential arguments with regard to the visible return to apartheid policing. This, they believe, has taken various forms. The return of military ranks (along with command and control discipline) within the SAPS signalled a major paradigmatic, ideological, and attitudinal shift. Marks and Wood (2010:312) argue that the significant shift back to paramilitary policing started in April 2010 when the National Commissioner had to be referred to as “General”. In defence of the use of military ranks, the then Police Minister, Nathi Mthethwa, argued that the use of military ranks would bring back the command and control discipline that “flew out of the window” when the police started to demilitarise at the end of apartheid (Duncan in Mkhize, 2015:196). Under these circumstances, a more robust communitarian and participatory approach to policing, such as community policing, became necessary.

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5.3 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY POLICING FORUMS (CPFs)

Expectedly, the transition from apartheid rule to democratic rule in 1994 created expectations that there would be a radical transformation in the state institutions – precisely because apartheid was institutionalised. In June 1999, then president Thabo Mbeki's administration saw an urgent need to place more emphasis on transformation and service delivery rather than reconciliation (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:259). Policing, as one of the key institutions of the state, had to be rapidly transformed and realigned. Transformation was inevitable within the policing environment so that the police would be accepted by black communities (Shaw & Shearing, 1998:5).

Transforming the police institution entailed a complete restructuring. Marks (2003:235-236) in this context notes a number of priorities, proposals, and options regarding the manner in which police transformation should have been brought about:

> The term 'police transformation' in the South African context has many layers. Primarily, it refers to the need for the state police to reflect broader state changes from authoritarian to democratic governance. This requires a move away from a partisan and repressive police force to a police agency that provides an impartial service and has a firm adherence to human rights principles.

Conversely, Marks (2003:235-236) further states that the transformation agenda within the police environment cannot be achieved if there has been no shift at three levels, namely:

> – structure, behaviour and attitude. At the structural level, the police service needs to be representative of the population it serves and be able to respond to both local and national requirements. At the behavioural level, the services provided need to be community-oriented and proactive rather than reactive. At the attitudinal level, community-oriented policing needs to become a philosophy (rather than simply a style of policing) and this involves viewing the public as 'clients' who should be treated with care and respect, and who deserve the best possible service.

In accordance with the agenda of police transformation advanced by Marks (2003:235-236), Rakgoadi (1995:1) contends that the police institution adopted community policing as its new vision. Shaw and Shearing (1998:5) concur that CPFs were developed mainly as a strategy to ensure that the police gained entrance into and acceptance from black communities.

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Globally, while earlier application and vast research was conducted in the West, community policing (although different philosophies, practices, and styles were used) dominated the whole world as most continents (Europe, North America, South America, Asia, and Africa) embraced and prioritised it as the most democratic, inclusive, and broad-based type of policing. Changes in policing at the global level also coincided with the end of the Cold War in 1989. In the case of South Africa, globalisation and the advent of democracy equally contributed to new challenges that were faced by departments of safety and security. On the one hand, democracy led to increased permeability of borders, which subsequently gave birth to increased drug and human trafficking and xenophobic violence (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015:8). On the other hand, globalisation led to increased cyber-based crimes (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015:8).

As a consequence, responding to these new challenges required highly sophisticated and collaborative methodologies of combating crime both at the internal and external level. There are two points that are worth considering when looking specifically at the origins of community policing in South Africa. Firstly, the civil society in the form of NGOs, community-based organisations (CBOs), and faith-based organisations (FBOs), along with the citizens (especially the previously oppressed), played a crucial role during the liberation struggle. Devising a strategy that would sufficiently ensure collaboration and partnerships between the police and communities in fighting crime therefore became much more desirable (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015:8). Not surprisingly, strong and renewed emphasis on effective partnerships and collaborations culminated in former president Thabo Mbeki's speech highlighting its value:

> In his opening address to Parliament on 25 June 1999, South Africa's new president committed the government to take measures to ... strengthen the Community Police Fora to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve co-operation between the people and the law enforcement agencies (Pelser, 1999:1).

Secondly, being a young democracy, it was virtually impossible for the democratically elected government to circumvent service delivery-related challenges due to high levels of poverty, inequality, crime, and unemployment. To achieve this, the government (including the police) needed to work closely with communities where services were rendered in order to address community needs.

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Correspondingly, the advent of democracy also came with a great deal of priorities. Among others, it prioritised the rule of law, human rights, accountability, and transparency. As a result, while the police excessively used *force* in the past, they had to *demilitarise* and begin to *respect* the rule of law.

According to the Civilian Secretariat for Police (2015:13),

> [t]he discourse on *demilitarisation* is thus about conduct, and about the police service displaying an unwavering commitment to its constitutional mandate as a civilian police embracing a human rights culture. At the heart of a civilian police must be a police service that is responsive to the needs of diverse communities and that continually demonstrates an approach to policing that is fair and professional, and whose actions and conduct are subjected to regular review and oversight.

Traditionally, these developments meant that in carrying out their mandates, police officials had to be fair, accountable, and responsible. Not surprisingly, the increased emphasis on values such as fairness, accountability, responsibility, transparency, and human rights-orientated policing have resulted in the establishment of the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID). The IPID seeks to investigate allegations of misconduct by police officers and ensure that their operations are in keeping with the ethos of human rights (SAPS, 2015b:8). In this regard, the Human Rights Commission (in Pelser, 1999:2-3) maintains that in 1991 the police colluded in political violence that was destroying and annihilating KwaZulu-Natal and Transvaal (which now form the provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, and North West). Theoretically, as evidenced by a number of police arrests, the IPID acts as an oversight body. As briefly explained under the NPA, the relationships between the ANC and IFP were deplorable and marked by political intolerance.

5.3.1 The concept of community policing in the context of South Africa

Having briefly expounded on the social, political, and historical context that existed before 1994, a critical analysis of how the community policing philosophy was introduced in South Africa is of paramount importance. Formal discussions around the implementation of the “community policing” approach (style or philosophy) can only be traced in the 1993 Interim Constitution (Act No. 200 of 1993) (Pelser, 1999:3). Pelser (1999) argues that specific reference to community policing is made in sections 221(1) and (2), where the Interim Constitution directed that an Act of Parliament was to

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"provide for the establishment of community-police forums in respect of police stations", which would include the following functions:

> a) the promotion of the accountability of the Service to local communities and cooperation of communities with the service; b) the monitoring of the effectiveness and efficiency of the Service; c) advising the Service regarding local policing priorities; d) the evaluation of the provision of visible policing services, including – i. the provision, siting and staffing of police stations; ii. the reception and processing of complaints and charges; iii. the provision of protective services at gatherings; iv. the patrolling of residential and business areas; and v. the prosecution of offenders; and; e, requesting enquiries into policing matters in the locality concerned (Interim Constitution in Pelser, 1999:3).

Pelser (in Marks, Shearing & Wood, 2009:146) contends that the term "community policing" gained popularity in 1997 when the Department of Safety and Security published its formal policy document titled *Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines*. The policy document on the community policing model was, however, founded on Western European and American principles (Minnaar, 2010:192). Following the finalisation of the policy document, the first CPF was established in Manenberg, Cape Town (a working-class coloured township in the classic apartheid style) (Scharf, 2001:75).

Conceptually, at least not only in South Africa but in other countries as well, community policing is understood differently by different people. Rakgoadi (1995:1) defines the concept of community policing as "a new philosophy, a new set of ethos which form the basis for policing in post-apartheid South Africa". Rakgoadi (1995:1) further adds that as a new philosophy, community policing typically "replaces an illegitimate, highly militarized police *force* by a more humane and people-orientated police *service*". From this theoretical standpoint, it could be deduced that the new philosophy discredits the excessive use of force that was previously prevalent in the past and encourages the police to serve the community as set out in the Constitution.

In a similar vein, Mamosebo (2014:17) defines community policing as "a philosophy that guides management styles and operational strategies and emphasises the establishment of police partnerships and a problem-solving approach responsive to the needs of the community".

According to Braiden (in Mamosebo, 2014:17), Community policing is both a philosophy and organisation strategy that allows the enforcement agency and

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community members to work closely together in creative ways to solve the problem of crime, fear of crime, illicit drugs, physical and social disorder, neighbourhood decay and the overall quality of life in the community.

Marks, Shearing and Wood (2009:146) define community policing as “collaborative partnership-based approach to (local level) problem solving”. Despite the lack of common or uniform definitions, the central feature and logic of the community policing approach include, but are not limited to, police officers working closely with the community in preventing and fighting crime. This close collaboration is underpinned by the fact that the objectives of the police cannot be achieved if they are not working with other organisations such as civil society and communities. Realistically speaking, this collaborative relationship, as Mamosebo (2014:17) observed, requires ongoing communication and mutual understanding between the police and the communities in which they operate.

5.4 THE FUNCTIONS OF CPFs IN SOUTH AFRICA

In reality, preventing and reducing crime are often difficult when the police are not assisted by communities. Communities often have intimate knowledge of the area in which they reside. As a result, the idea of state-community partnerships (in this case CPFs) is key in terms of promoting effective prosecution and detection (Shaw & Shearing, 1998:8). Since the highly centralised form of policing does not adequately address issues within local communities, CPFs represent the policing interests of the local community (Minnaar, 2010:192). This is extremely essential so that the local communities can play an oversight role over the police at various levels. According to Minnaar (2010:189), community policing in the main is in the form of operational approaches such as “visible” and “sector” policing.

Although there are concerns regarding community policing, it is generally seen as an essential mechanism to public policing in a democracy (Gordon, 2001:121). The community policing approach is essential for developing and enabling social links between the police and residents (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008:96). Community policing also creates a space for ongoing dialogue between the police and residents about small conflicts that may arise among residents (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008:96). It serves as a platform for ongoing discussions between the police and communities.

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Scott (in Maroga, 2003:15) provides a detailed outline of the main elements of CPFs. These include, among others:

- Service orientation: Responsive to community needs and accountable for addressing these needs;
- Partnership: The facilitation of a cooperative, consultative process of problem solving;
- Problem solving: The joint identification and analysis of the causes of crime and conflict and the development of innovative measures to address these;
- Empowerment: The creation of joint responsibility and capacity for addressing crime; and
- Accountability: The creation of a culture of accountability for addressing the needs and concerns of communities.

5.5 THE CHALLENGES OF CPFs IN SOUTH AFRICA

The effectiveness and sustainability of CPFs remain highly questionable (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:263). The unresolved issues of control dominate the manner in which CPFs conduct their operations (Scharf, 2001:75). Given the historically poor relations between the police and communities, attempts to introduce CPFs were bedevilled by tensions between the two groups. The tensions took place in two different ways, namely, on the one hand, the police expected to take charge of everything and the communities to effortlessly forgive them for the past atrocities they committed (Scharf, 2001:75). On the other hand, the communities wanted the police to apologise and humble themselves. In other areas, these tensions are not necessarily about forgiveness but frequently about community representatives wanting to tell the police what they must do (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:264). In most cases, however, the police flatly refuse (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:264). Traditionally, a source of conflict in this context is that the police mainly view CPF members as an intelligence-gathering source – responsible for collecting information about “hotspots” and suspects or running crime prevention efforts (Gordon, 2001:139).

The power struggle between community representatives and the police continued unabated and also confirmed that CPF members did not have real power (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:264). Upon thorough scrutiny of this symbiotic relationship, it appears that

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the overall performance of CPFs has not achieved its objectives, such as bringing about police reforms and shifting resources to poorer areas (Shaw & Shearing, 1998:8). The role of CPFs has become a better mechanism to achieve better bandit catching, rather than enhancing community involvement in crime prevention (Shaw & Shearing, 1998:8).

The concept of community policing remains vague and elusive. According to Gordon (2001:136), this vagueness has created many challenges in the process such as enabling all the role players (SAPS officials, activists, and CPF members) to adapt it to their own interests, which inevitably diverged. More challenges relate to resistance that often comes from the station house partly because the police want their operations to remain secret and do not want to be questioned and criticised by civilians. The police are of the view that increased civilian oversight might increase the risks of the job (Gordon, 2001:136). Invariably, increased civilian responsibility is typically considered as an intrusion in the police domain (Gordon, 2001:139). Indeed, while the concept of community policing is generally considered as an evolutionary approach, a lack of adequate resources both at station level and within communities has complicated the implementation of the idea.

Another area of concern has been the misunderstanding of the vague roles of sector policing and the CPF. At the centre of the misunderstanding is how the two approaches differ from or complement each other. Maroga (2003:13) conducted seminal research in this regard and concluded that sector policing could be seen as a way of enhancing community policing. While sector policing is largely viewed as the operational strategy for community policing due to emphasising tailor-made police responses that address local level concerns, a key challenge involves clarifying how Sector Policing Forums differ from CPFs (Maroga, 2003:14).

The other area of concern, from time to time, has been death threats or safety risks to members who are actively involved in CPF activities. In this context, Gordon (2001:140) purports that CPF members who actively investigate crime are often seen as spies for the police or as causing tensions within their respective communities. This inevitably puts the lives of CPF members (and their immediate family members) in danger and forces them to gradually disengage or to participate passively.

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Additionally, there are challenges that are attributed to different affiliations. For instance, conflict among members can ensue owing to political party loyalties, ethnic divisions, or diverse views of the role of CPFs (Gordon, 2001:140).

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter critically analysed police-community relations in the context of South Africa. It discussed the history of policing before and after 1994 in order to provide the context within which CPFs emerged. It unequivocally confirmed that the relations between the police and black communities in particular were not good during the apartheid era. Apartheid policing was aimed at oppressing blacks and the police were heavily criticised for their authoritarian and paramilitary style of policing. The advent of democracy was seen as a pathway for levelling the playing field. However, as argued in this chapter, democracy alone was not sufficient as many atrocities that were inherent in the past were carried over to the post-apartheid era. The chapter showed that introducing COP such as CPFs was not easy in South Africa, although it is a noble idea. This style of policing sought to build partnerships and collaborations with communities in which the police operate. Although CPFs were implemented successfully throughout all police stations in the country, they are not effective in terms of preventing and reducing crime as the relations between the police and CPF members are fraught with challenges. The chapter showed that a more nuanced approach to policing is needed.

The following chapter focuses on the policy and legislative frameworks that enable police-community relations in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 6
POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS THAT ENABLE POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The most powerful agent of growth and transformation is something much more basic than any technique: A change of heart – John Welwood

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the primary focus of this study is on social capital as a trust-building model between the police and communities, this chapter reflects broadly on the policy and legislative frameworks that serve as the antecedents of police-community relations in South Africa. The policy and legislative prescripts, aimed at preventing crime through harnessing relations between the police and communities at national, provincial, and local government level, are reviewed. Although attention is paid broadly to the national and provincial sphere of government, this chapter specifically examines policies implemented to enhance social capital and building relationships between the police and communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. While the preceding chapter critically considered international perspectives to demystify the manner in which relations can be built between the police and communities, this chapter considers the prescripts that enable relations to be built between stakeholders at a local level. Through a hierarchical order, the chapter reviews pertinent policy, statutory, and legislative prescripts, namely the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 1996a), White Papers, the National Development Plan (NDP), national and provincial crime prevention strategies, and CPFs, in an attempt to underscore, demystify, and elucidate the extent to which the prescripts promote, enhance, or stifle police-community relations.

6.2 NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Shortly after the advent of democracy in 1994, a number of legislative and policy documents were adopted and implemented in an attempt to transform, reconfigure, and restructure the government departments to improve efficiency and effectiveness and to ensure non-racialism. Of particular importance in this study is the area of crime prevention and community participation in crime prevention (or alternatively,

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community policing). This basically relates to actions initiated, managed, and controlled to deal with crime (Steenkamp, 2002:132). In light of the complexities relating to crime prevention activities, Lab (2015:27) defines crime prevention as "any action designed to reduce the actual level of crime and/or the perceived fear of crime". In the main, crime prevention is basically aimed at enhancing the sense of safety and security. Steenkamp (2002:132) differentiates between three types (primary, secondary, and tertiary) of crime prevention:

> *Primary crime prevention* refers to proactive and preventative in the most basic sense, in that it includes strategies that occur prior to anyone even contemplating the commission of crime. It addresses the root causes of crime such as poverty, lack of education, etc. *Secondary crime prevention* refers to proactive measures that prevent specific instances of, or opportunities for, potential threat from developing into instances of actual criminal victimisation. This includes the use of locks, and security systems. *Tertiary crime prevention* refers to responses that are purely reactive in that they strive to minimise the severity of loss when specific crimes are threatened and initiated. This includes self-protection such as carrying concealed weapons and martial arts training.

6.2.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

With specific reference to the establishment of the SAPS, section 205(1)(2)(3) of the Constitution clearly stipulates the purpose and functions of the police as follows: "to prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order, to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, to uphold and enforce the law". To ensure effective utilisation of the police, community participation and involvement play a pivotal role in curbing and preventing crime.

6.2.2 The White Paper on Safety and Security (WPSS), 1998

This White Paper was typically intended to address the challenges related to crime in the period from 1999 to 2004 (RSA, 2016:34). The aim was to transform the SAPS and equip police officers with the necessary skills to increase the effectiveness of social crime prevention and to reduce the occurrence of crime (RSA, 2016:34). The objectives of the 1998 WPSS were to:

- define strategic priorities to deal with crime;
- articulate the roles and responsibilities of various role players in the safety and security sphere; and

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- clarify the role of the Department of Safety and Security within a constitutional framework (RSA, 1998:9; 2016:34).

According to the WPSS of 1998 (RSA, 1998:36), CPFs should cooperate with the local government in the following manner:

- Jointly set up crime prevention priorities and agree on strategies to ensure their implementation;
- Assist with the development of targeted social crime prevention programmes;
- Identify flashpoints, crime patterns, and community anti-crime priorities and communicate these to local government and the SAPS and participate in problem solving;
- Mobilise and organise community-based campaigns and activities and the resources required to sustain them; and
- Facilitate regular attendance by local elected representatives of CPFs.

In this context, the National Community Police Board provides for a wide range of aspects by outlining both public policy guidelines and statutory foundations that govern the functioning of CPFs (see Table 6.1).

6.2.3 The WPSS of 2016

The WPSS of 2016 followed a review of the 1998 WPSS. Several loopholes were identified, such as a need for two distinct policy interventions. The WPSS of 2016 thus adds on several government interventions aimed at dealing with crime in a more improved and integrated manner, particularly through crime prevention strategies. This is done to ensure that people live in safe communities and feel safer. The WPSS of 2016 has two main objectives, namely:

- to provide an overarching policy for safety, crime, and violence prevention that will articulate a clear legislative and administrative framework to facilitate synergy and alignment of policies on safety and security; and
- to facilitate the creation of a sustainable, well-resourced implementation and oversight mechanism, which will coordinate, monitor, evaluate, and report on the implementation of crime prevention priorities across all sectors (RSA, 2016:7).

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Table 6.1: Policy and legislation

No.	Policy/Legislation	Details
1	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996	Is the supreme law of the land and, as expected, all public policies must comply with it. All other laws and policy documents must comply with the standards set by the Constitution
1.1	Section 205(1)	Requires "the national police service" to be structured and to function on the national, provincial, and, where appropriate, on the local spheres of government. It stipulates clearly that policing must be a "service".
1.2	Section 205(2)	Is for a national law to establish the powers and functions of police services.
1.3	Section 205(3)	Contains the broad authorisation to police. Each province may monitor the police service and promote good relations between the police and the community (Section 206).
2	The White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS or *Batho Pele*), 1995	The Department of Safety and Security must implement the *Batho Pele* principles of consultation, namely service standards, access, courtesy, redress, information, openness and transparency, and value for money.
3	WPSS of 1998: 1999-2004	Makes reference to community policing by pointing out that the community, the local government, and the police must meet to form a forum. This forum is known as the Community Police Forum (CPF). Each police station should have a CPF as part of crime prevention. The White Paper divides the efforts to address crime in two broad dimensions of law enforcement and crime prevention.
4	The South African Police Service Act, No. 68 of 1995	Sections 18-23 define the objectives of CPFs. It establishes the partnerships between communities and the police; promotes communication between communities and the police; promotes cooperation between the police service and communities; improves the rendering of police services to the community at national, provincial, and local levels; improves the transparency and accountability of the police to communities; and promotes joint problem identification and problem solving between the police and communities.
5	The SAPS Interim Regulations for Community Police Forums and Boards, 2001	Gives more information on the correct and accepted methodology that is followed when establishing a CPF.

Source: National Community Police Board (2017:3-4)

6.2.4 White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service (WPTPS), 1995

Focusing primarily on how service delivery is supposed to be brought to the citizens, the main purpose of the WPTPS is to provide a policy framework and a practical implementation strategy for the transformation of public service delivery. It seeks to improve efficiency and effectiveness in the manner in which basic services are brought to the people (RSA, 1995b:1). The idea was to enhance systematic consultation with

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the users of services and find out from them whether the services met their expectations.

6.3 THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE'S (SAPS) INTERIM REGULATIONS FOR COMMUNITY POLICE FORUMS AND BOARDS, 2001

CPFs were established through the SAPS Interim Regulations for Community Police Forums and Boards of 2001. These regulations stipulate the role(s) of provincial commissioners and station commanders in the establishment of CPFs. According to the regulations (SAPS, 2001:1):

> (1) A Station Commander must, subject to the instructions of the Provincial Commissioner, take all reasonable steps to establish a community police forum which is broadly representative of the community in the station area under his or her jurisdiction. (2) In order to establish a community police forum, a station commander must – (a) identify community based organisations, institutions and interest groups in the station area under his or her jurisdiction; (b) determine a suitable date, time and venue for a meeting of all interested persons to establish a community police forum; (c) take all reasonable steps to make the date, time, and venue of the meeting known to the organisations, institutions and groups referred to in subparagraph (a) as well as to the general public in the station area; (d) explain to those attending the said meeting what the objectives of a community police forum are; (e) invite nominations for a reasonable number of persons to serve on a steering committee, together with the station commissioner, to establish community police forum; and (f) determine a date, time, and venue for an inaugural meeting.

The establishment of effective crime prevention strategies has increasingly become a mammoth task facing governments, and a conundrum facing many communities around the world. It is therefore within this context that communities have been encouraged to perpetually partner and tirelessly work with the police in curbing crime. Community policing aims to build a partnership between the police and community through which crime, service delivery, and police-community relations can be analysed and appropriate solutions can be designed and implemented (Smith, 2008:22). Indeed, while this may seem to be an easy collaborative venture, an atmosphere of trust between the police and communities needs to be established to accelerate cooperation and partnerships in preventing crime. Given its holistic approach to crime prevention, it is thus not surprising that CPFs were established in South Africa with a view to devise synergistic, collaborative, creative, and innovative ways of curbing and preventing crime.

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6.4 NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

6.4.1 The National Development Plan (NDP)

While there has been growing emphasis on fighting crime through integrated and coordinated strategies, the NDP also spells out the importance of working together across all spheres of government as part of reducing and eradicating crime. The NDP emphasises an integrated approach whereby the police, the judiciary, and the correctional services work together to ensure that suspects are caught, prosecuted, and convicted if found guilty, and securely incarcerated and rehabilitated (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2012:387). The NDP 2030 advocates for the building of safer communities in order for residents to feel safe and secure (NPC, 2012:385). The NDP proposes that safer communities can be a reality if the following objectives are achieved:

- Strengthen the criminal justice system;
- Make the police service professional;
- Demilitarise the police;
- Increase rehabilitation of prisoners and reduce recidivism;
- Build safety using an integrated approach; and
- Increase community participation in safety.

Attempts to achieve these objectives should be specifically led by local government, together with the participation of local communities through CPFs. This is premised on the notion that local communities have a better understanding of local challenges. The local government must prioritise the safety of vulnerable persons such as women, children, people with disabilities, and elderly persons.

6.4.2 The National Growth and Development Strategy (NGDS), 1995

Working hand in hand with the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) is the NGDS. The two policy positions have been mostly inseparable. According to Rauch (n.d.:2), the NCPS and NGDS were developed simultaneously under the supposition that they effectively complement each other. The basic aim, according to Rauch (n.d.:2), was “to integrate the crime prevention approach with the overall socio-

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economic development approach". As a consequence, the NCPS was subsequently considered as one of the "pillars" of the NGDS.

6.4.3 The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), 1996

Launched and supported strongly by the Government of National Unity, consisting of the ANC, IFP, and New National Party, in May 1996, the NCPS was largely in response to growing public intolerance and rising crime rates that posed a serious threat to a young democracy. The strategy was implemented "as part of government's endeavour to eradicate unacceptable levels of crime in our country" (Mbeki in Van Aswegen, 2000:141). The NCPS articulates a new vision in terms of how crime is understood and managed (Singh, 1999:1). It was therefore typically designed as a long-term crime prevention strategy that would seriously and efficiently tackle the root causes of crime (Rauch, n.d.:1). It was realised that the NCPS would need to run parallel with ongoing crime-combating strategies such as the Police's Community Safety Plan in order to ensure meaningful implementation and operation (Rauch, n.d.:1).

The NCPS signalled a dramatic paradigm shift in the government's policy to combat crime. To this end, the NCPS represents a complete shift from a typically reactive crime-control initiative to a proactive crime prevention approach (Omar, 2010:1). Singh (1999:1) defines the paradigm shift as the "Changing Soul of the Nation". The NCPS was introduced partly because post-1994 South Africa needed an extensive overhaul of its institutions and laws (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005:427). Hence, the most notable difference (unlike the NCPS's predecessors) is that the NCPS incorporates public and community participation (Omar, 2010:1). It is therefore considered a multi-pronged strategy. According to Van Aswegen (2000:141-142) and Omar (2010:2), the NCPS has four basic pillars, namely the criminal justice process, reducing crime through environmental design, public values and education, and trans-national crime.

6.4.4 The National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS), 2000

The NCCS sought to enhance, strengthen, and promote law enforcement. Unlike the NCPS, which was the outcome of interdepartmental policy at least in theory, the NCCS was an outcome of fierce deliberations within the security cluster (Du Plessis & Louw,

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2005:431). The NCCS thus came in response to the need to respond quickly to crime. According to Du Plessis and Louw (2005:431), the NCCS has two basic elements, namely

> a focus on the selection of geographic areas with the highest recorded crime levels. Police resources are directed to these areas, largely in the form of high density, search-and-seizure type operations … The second element of NCCS focuses on organised crime and involves the investigation of syndicates by task teams of experienced detectives.

Leggett (in Du Plessis & Louw, 2005:431) asserts that people felt safer after the introduction of the NCCS.

6.4.5 The National Security Strategy (NSS), 2012

The NSS rightfully acknowledges the fact that effective and strategic collaborative effort is required from all stakeholders involved in the area of fighting and reducing crime because police officers alone cannot succeed. Instead, a more comprehensive, and coordinated national response is required. It seeks to address violent and organised crime and its impact on the safety of the people (RSA, 2012; 2016:33).

6.4.6 The Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy (ISCPS), 2011

The ISCPS seeks to help those people who are the most vulnerable, especially in rural areas. These people include, among others, women, children, youths, people with disabilities, and older persons (Department of Social Development, 2011). The focus areas of the ISCPS include, among others,

> families, early childhood development, social assistance and support for pregnant women, and girls; child abuse, neglect and exploitation, domestic violence and victim empowerment programmes; victim support and dealing with trauma; community mobilisation and development; alcohol and substance abuse; HIV & AIDS and feeding and health programmes; social crime prevention programmes; extended public works programmes; schooling and prevention, reduction, and law enforcement with regard to gun violence (Department of Social Development, 2011).

6.4.7 Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), 2001

In line with global trends, environmental design was identified as one of the four pillars of the NCPS of 1996, and the WPSS of 1998 also recognised the importance of

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environmental design in reducing crime. The CPTED seeks to reduce the causes of, and opportunities for, criminal events and to address the fear of crime by applying sound planning, design, and management principles to the built environment (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, 2001).

6.4.8 The National Rural Safety Strategy (NRSS), 2015

The objectives of this strategy are to:

- respond to the needs of rural communities to support food security and economic development;
- strengthen relationship building within rural communities; and
- encourage all stakeholders in rural safety to work together in a coordinated and integrated manner and engage in joint planning, implementation, monitoring, development, and evaluation to combat crime in rural areas, as determined by the NCCS.

The rationale behind the NRSS is to improve police response to criminal activities, to enhance cooperation, and to establish partnerships. Since crime prevention strategies are based on partnerships between the police and communities, the aim of the NRSS is also to enhance communication, community involvement, and partnerships (SAPS, 2015a).

6.4.9 The Rural Safety Strategy (RSS), 2010

The RSS basically deals with crime that occurs mostly in rural areas. It aims to ensure that rural residents are safe by reducing high levels of violence and crime (SAPS's National RSS in RSA, 2016:33). Figure 6.1 depicts the aspects of the integrated crime prevention approach that is being used.

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Figure 6.1: Aspects of an integrated crime prevention approach

Source: Department of Safety and Security (in Zuma, 2015:48)

According to Figure 6.1, the crime prevention strategy is typically based on three pillars, namely law enforcement, social prevention, and situational prevention. As shown, each pillar has a plethora of crime prevention activities that run parallel with the other pillars. The three pillars are interdependent. In addition, Figure 6.2 illustrates national, provincial, and local government relationships for social crime prevention.

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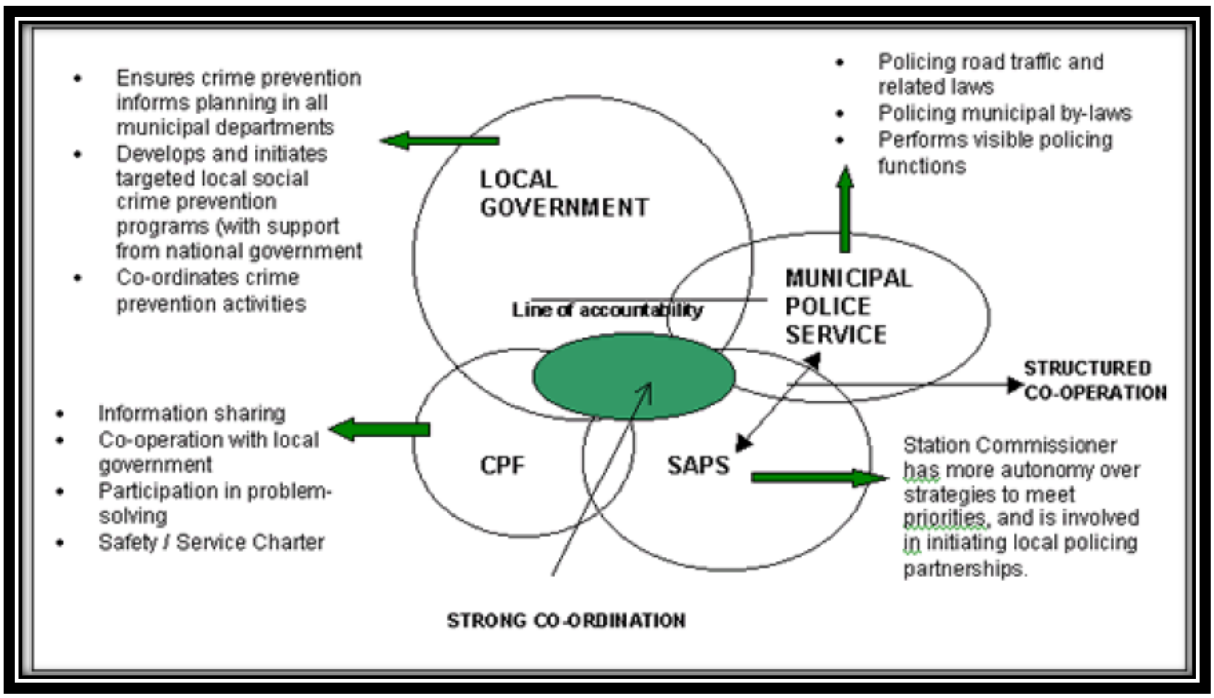
Figure 6.2: National, provincial, and local government relationships for social crime prevention



Source: RSA (1998:26)

Figure 6.2 depicts different levels of crime prevention structures that operate in an integrated fashion. The integrated and multi-layered approach aims to prevent and combat crime on all levels and from all angles.

6.5 PROVINCIAL CRIME PREVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

6.5.1 The Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS), 1996

The PGDS of KwaZulu-Natal is tactically and cogently aligned with the NDP to ensure that provincial priorities are in line with and complement national priorities. It is also aligned with six Provincial Priorities, the Twelve National Outcomes, the New Growth Path, the NPC's Diagnostic Report and the NDP, and the Millennium Development Goals (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Planning Commission [KZN PPC], 2012:4). Through an integrated service delivery approach, the PGDS aims to facilitate economic growth and improve the quality of life for the people of KwaZulu-Natal (eThekwini Municipality, 2012:12; KZN PPC, 2012:4). This is done through enhancing sustainable, effective, and efficient governance (eThekwini Municipality, 2012:12).

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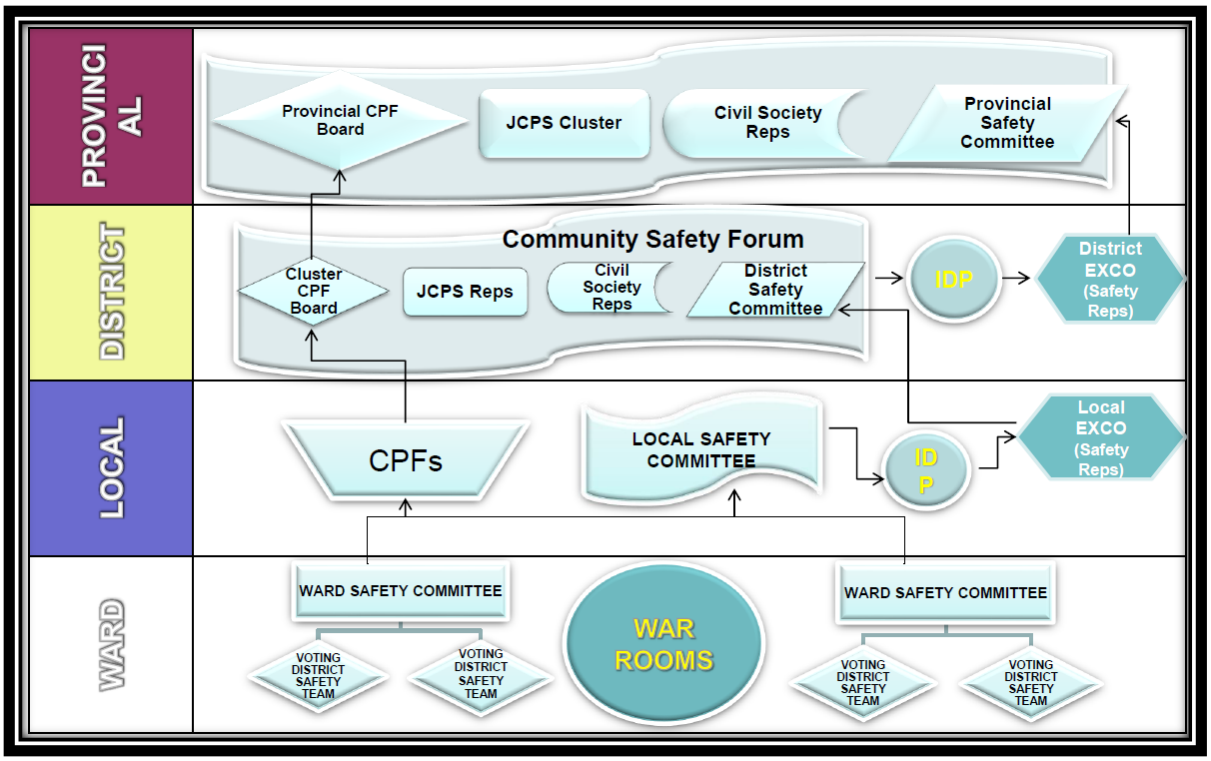
6.5.2 The KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Planning Commission (KZN PPC)

The KZN PPC specifically aims to work towards achieving the objectives of the NPC. It particularly advises on matters relating to long-term strategic planning, ensuring coherence in policy development across the provincial government, and strengthening performance monitoring and evaluation to assess the pace required to deliver on the desired outcomes (KZN PPC, 2012:3). Figure 6.3 depicts KwaZulu-Natal's holistic community liaison framework.

Figure 6.3: KwaZulu-Natal's holistic community liaison framework



Source: KwaZulu-Natal Community Safety and Liaison (2014:5)

The framework in Figure 6.3 basically seeks to enhance community safety by encouraging effective participation and partnerships from all stakeholders involved. These include:

- CPFs;
- KwaZulu-Natal Crime Prevention Association (KZNCCPA);
- ward safety committees; and
- local safety teams and street committees (KwaZulu-Natal Community Safety and Liaison, 2014:6).

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Not only does this framework provide a holistic crime prevention strategy in the province, but it is also credited for having successfully paved the way for three important initiatives since 2010, namely “Building a United Front Against Crime”, “Deepening People’s Action Against Crime”, and “Operation Hlasela” (Department of Community Safety and Liaison in Zuma, 2015:54). As part of this framework, crime can be prevented at many levels in KwaZulu-Natal. For example, through district community safety forums (mainly at district level), and through CPFs (mainly at local level) (Mchunu in Zuma, 2015:54).

6.5.3 The KwaZulu-Natal Community Crime Prevention Association (KZNCCPA)

In keeping with crime prevention strategies, the KZNCCPA aims to achieve several objectives in the area of crime prevention. These include:

- encouraging social networking in the fight against crime within the confines of the law;
- promoting broad public participation in government initiatives to fight crime, such as taking part in crime prevention forum activities;
- fostering partnerships with the police service, civil society organisations, and business to fight crime; and
- leading the campaign against political killings and police brutality (KwaZulu-Natal Community Safety and Liaison in Zuma, 2015:56).

6.5.4 The KwaZulu-Natal Council on Crime (KZNCC)

The KZNCC aims to ensure effective cooperation between communities and law enforcement agencies. It seeks to refine a multi-pronged strategy of fighting crime in the province (Mchunu, 2014:2). It encourages collective responsibility in fighting crime through developing partnerships between different sectors of society. These include, among others, KZN Traditional Leaders, KZN Business, KZN Youth, KZN Private Security Industry, KZN Organised Labour, KZN Military Veterans’ Associations, KZN Transport Sector, KZN Religious Leaders, KZN Provincial Community Police Board, and the KZNCCPA (Mchunu, 2014:4). Each sector in this regard has an important role to play in crime prevention.

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6.6 LOCAL CRIME PREVENTION AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES IN THE ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

6.6.1 The Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

According to the Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000), local municipal structures are legally bound to have a functioning IDP. The IDP serves as a tool for transforming local governments towards facilitation and management of development within their areas of development (eThekwini Municipality, 2012:7). The Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2000a:23) points out that the IDP must fulfil the following duties:

- Strive to achieve the objects of local government set out in section 152 of the Constitution;
- Give effect to its developmental duties as required by section 153 of the Constitution; and
- Together with other organs of state, contribute to the progressive realisation of the fundamental rights contained in sections 24 to 27 and 29 of the Constitution.

The IDP seeks to ensure that the municipality is more responsive, transparent, efficient, and effective in providing basic services to residents.

6.6.2 The City Planning Commission (CPC) of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality

While widely recognised as the first commission in the country, the CPC aims to propel the municipality's long-term vision and strategic plan, and to ensure that the NDP and PGDS objectives are achieved timeously, effectively, and efficiently. The CPC is thus responsible for:

- a city diagnostic;
- a long-term city development plan; and
- an implementation strategy that would influence the development of the city's IDP (eThekwini Municipality, 2012:14).

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6.6.3 The Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP), 2015

Virtually like the CPC, the SDBIP's main objective is to ensure that the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality is able to implement all the programmes and projects based on the IDP targets and associated budgets (eThekwini Municipality, 2012:26). According to the IDP (eThekwini Municipality, 2012:27), the SDBIP helps to ensure that the budget is linked to the municipality's priorities and ensures that service delivery and performance management indicators are achieved as planned.

6.6.4 The Community Safety Forums Policy, 2011

This policy pushes local government to enhance cooperation, integrated planning, and coordinated implementation of safety programmes and projects at the community level (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2011). This policy seeks to enhance crime prevention by cascading the national government agenda down to the local environment. This is aimed at ensuring that the priorities of national, provincial, and local government speak to one another in an integrated and well-coordinated fashion so as to improve the performance of the criminal justice system.

6.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the pertinent policy prescripts and statutory foundations that serve as an enabling environment for effective crime prevention and the functioning of CPFs. The hierarchy and the way the levels of government complement one another were explained through various national, provincial, and local government policy prescripts.

The following chapter presents and discusses the empirical findings on social capital and the police-community relations in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.

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CHAPTER 7
SOCIAL CAPITAL AND TRUST-BUILDING IN ETHEKWINI

Everybody can be great … because anybody can serve. You don't have to have a college degree to serve. You don't have to make your subject and verb agree to serve. You only need a heart full of grace. A soul generated by love – Martin Luther King Jr

7.1 INTRODUCTION

While the previous chapters focused on the review of related literature, theories, policies, and international perspectives on social capital and trust-building, this chapter aims to provide the nature and extent of social capital and trust-building in KwaXimba in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. The chapter does this by presenting a synthesis of the quantitative and qualitative data obtained during field research that was conducted during the period mid-December 2018 to mid-April 2019 using a corpus of written texts, structured questionnaires, in-depth personal interviews, and focus group discussions as research instruments. The qualitative and quantitative data were creatively synthesised, as indicated in Chapter 1, so that each dataset could validate or corroborate another cumulatively in order to help heighten the understanding of social capital and trust-building in KwaXimba. Against this backdrop, the purpose of this chapter is fivefold. Firstly, the chapter starts by elucidating the historical and political context of KwaXimba in order to provide a broader context that shapes and enables the nature of social capital. Secondly, the chapter meticulously clarifies the preferred terminology that is used when dealing with traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal. Thirdly, as an entry point into the presentation of the research findings, the chapter explicates and dissects the research instruments that were used for collecting data in the field. Fourthly, the chapter explains the profile of the participants and the criteria that were used to select the participants. Finally, the chapter presents a synthesised version of the quantitative and qualitative data.

7.2 THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY SITE

The area of KwaXimba (Ximba – a clan name of Mlaba) is under *ubukhosi* (the chieftaincy) of the Mlaba clan. This chieftaincy is found in KwaZulu-Natal, although historical analysis suggests that its origins can be traced back to the Basotho nation. For the purposes of this study, this section only dovetails a truncated version of history.

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Ntshangase (2003:2) argues that the Ximba people are descendants of the Basotho clan who fled to Zululand during colonial times, which were characterised by the deadly and protracted battles of King Shaka and his half-brother, Dingaan. These fierce battles engulfed the province, and led to a string of migrations. The Ximbas then migrated to and settled in Hammersdale (north of Durban) in a place called KwaXimba. While the Ximba people are mostly said to be the descendants of the Basotho (a predominantly Sesotho-speaking nation), it is worth noting that their mother tongue is isiZulu, and by virtue of that they are part of the Zulu nation. This is understandable because KwaZulu-Natal is a unique province in the sense that it mainly consists of people who speak isiZulu, although there is a large proportion of English-speaking communities such as Indian and white communities in the urban areas. There is also a small minority of foreign nationals who originally come from African countries (Somalians, Zimbabweans, and Ethiopians) and from countries such as Pakistan and China.

The province was beset by brutal and atrocious political violence (largely between the ANC and IFP) during the apartheid era (Krämer, 2019:4). A number of people who belonged on either side (IFP or ANC) were killed during the political violence in KwaZulu-Natal (de Haas, 2016:43). While the ANC was demonstrably one of the liberation movements, the IFP was at loggerheads with liberation movements and civic organisations that opposed apartheid. The IFP relied heavily on “divisive politics and appealed to Zulu speakers to uphold their tribal tradition and loyalty to Zulu culture” (Williams, 2015:97). The outbreak of political violence was caused by tensions that ensued between ANC and IFP members during the 1970s up to the early 1990s (Ntshangase, 2003:2). Fierce battles were particularly prevalent in townships. According to South African History Online (2011:1), the homeland of KwaZulu (or place of the Zulu) was granted self-government under apartheid on 1 December 1977. Ulundi became the capital of KwaZulu under the leadership of Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi (IFP founder and leader). Chief Buthelezi established a close relationship with the National Party government (South African History Online, 2011:1). During that time, it was apparent that Chief Buthelezi had decided to distance himself from the ANC. To this end, Palmary (2004:7) cites strong appeals to Zulu ethno-nationalism as justification for Buthelezi to support apartheid policies. The support for apartheid policies did not bode well for Buthelezi as the ANC and the

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people started to condemn him as “the enemy of the people” (Bekker in Palmary, 2004:7). Buthelezi was thus accused of being a stooge and collaborator with the white minority government (Williams, 2015:97). The white minority government took advantage of this. It is thus not surprising that there were many fights between the IFP and liberation movements (Palmary, 2004:7).

Under these circumstances, the KwaXimba community was affected. The relations between the IFP and ANC on the ground became hostile (or volatile) and were marked by severe political intolerance. It is in this context that it is understood that the KwaXimba community might have been infuriated (or dismayed) by this and refused to be incorporated under KwaZulu’s self-government led by Buthelezi (a clear nemesis) (Palmary, 2004:7; Williams, 2015:97). Palmary (2004:7) points out that Buthelezi resisted every attempt that led to the development of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA). Yet, the KwaXimba community had long been and is undoubtedly the ANC’s stronghold in the province. This may not be surprising because, according to Engel (in Krämer, 2019:5), the ANC remains a stronghold in the province, although there was a decline in 2016 local government elections. As a result, Chief Msinga Mlaba was assassinated in 1988 in what appeared to be the result of IFP and ANC skirmishes, although no strong evidence could be found. The KwaXimba community was dismayed and relations were distraught between the ANC and the neighbouring IFP communities.

After the death of Chief Msinga Mlaba, Zibuse Mlaba acted as *Ibamba* (a regent or acting chief) until a rightful heir was appointed as the chief (Ntshangase, 2003:2). The current chief is Simangaye Mlaba, Msinga’s son. It is also imperative to accentuate that during the late 1980s up to the early 1990s, skirmishes or wars were waged between the KwaXimba community (predominantly ANC) and the KwaNyavu community under the chieftaincy of the Mdluli clan (predominantly an IFP stronghold, although post-1994 showed that there are now members of the ANC and other smaller political parties). Many people were killed on both sides. The relations have, however, improved between the two communities, although a relationship of trust is still lacking. While political violence seems to have started to dissipate, the area of KwaXimba suffers numerous incidents of taxi violence. The current taxi owners’ association (Buhlebuyeza) is not properly constituted. It is made up of members from the KwaNyavu community (a former adversary of KwaXimba) and the KwaXimba

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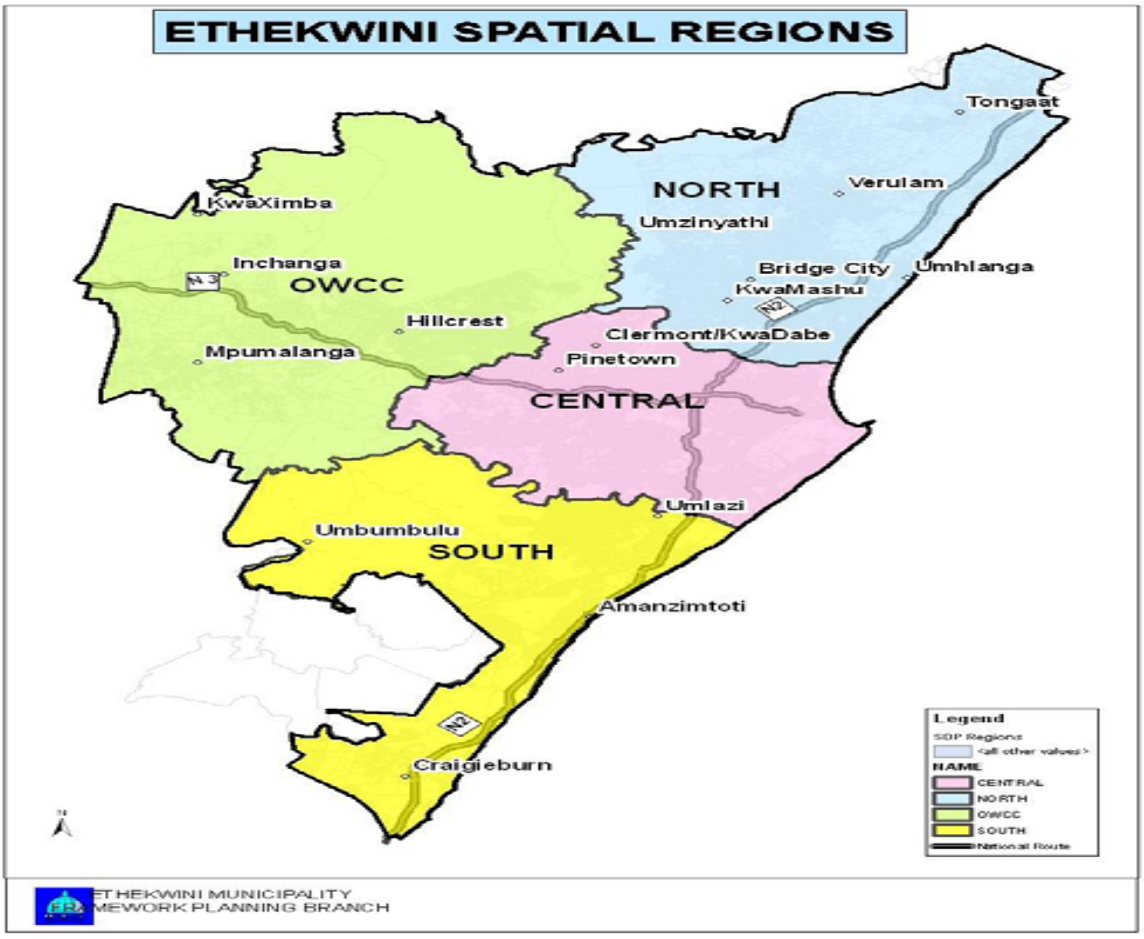
community. Attempts to end taxi violence have not yielded positive results as the industry continues to be fraught with similar challenges (see Chapter 8). Therefore, long-held political feuds continue to manifest not only in how the CPF is constituted, as indicated in Chapter 8, but in a number of ways. This is typical of what is happening in the province as a whole where there is also a re-emergence of political-related deaths, especially during local government elections (Bruce, 2013:13; Bruce, 2014:1; de Haas, 2016:43). De Haas (2016:43) claims that all elections in KwaZulu-Natal after 1994 have been characterised by violence and intimidation. A number of ward councillors have been killed in KwaZulu-Natal prior to and after elections (de Haas, 2016). The map below illustrates the spatial regions of the eThekwini Municipality.

Figure 7.1 The spatial regions of the eThekwini Municipality



Source: eThekwini Municipality (2012a) in Sutherland, Robbins, Scott and Sim (2013:4).

Figure 7.1 above illustrates the spatial regions of the eThekwini Municipality where KwaXimba community is located. KwaXimba is located on the north east part of the

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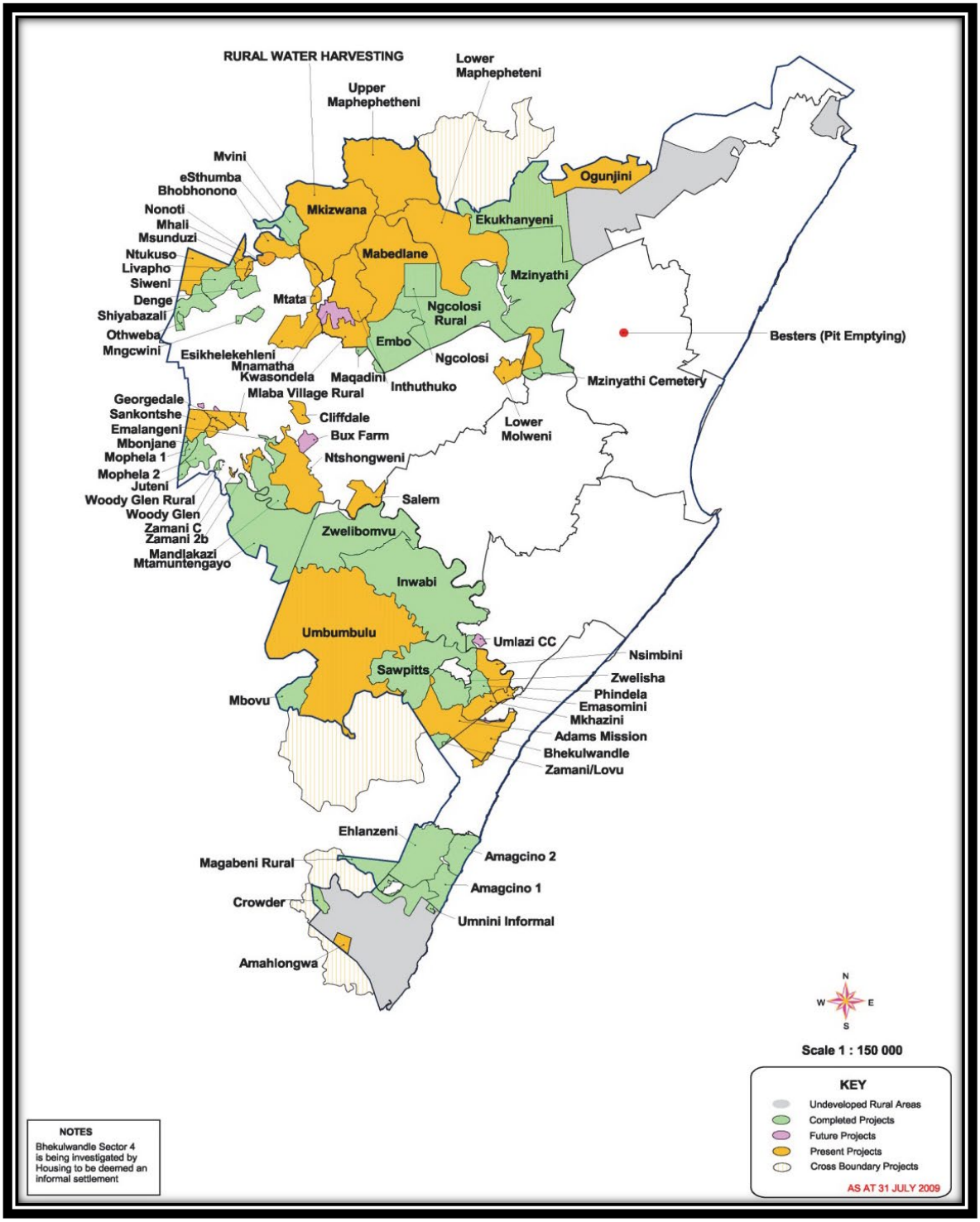
eThekwini Municipality. Figure 7.2 below depicts areas which were covered by the researcher during field research.

Figure 7.2 Map depicting areas covered during field research



Source: eThekwini Municipality, Water and Sanitation Unit (in Roma, Philp, Buckley, Xulu and Scott, 2013:306).

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Figure 7.2 depicts some of the areas (such as Mvini, eSthumba, Bhobhonono, Nonoti, Mhali, Msunduzi, Ntukuso, Livapho, Siweni, Denge, Othweba, Mngcwini, and Esikhelekehleni) were data was collected. Other areas (that fall outside the parameters of KwaXimba) were not covered during field research.

7.2.1 Describing eThekwini Municipality

As illustrated by the maps above, KwaXimba forms part of eThekwini Municipality. As a consequence, it is essential to give a brief description of eThekwini Municipality. Geographically, eThekwini Municipality is found on the east coast of South Africa in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The eThekwini Municipality has 110 wards and 219 councillors (110 ward seats and 109 PR seats) (eThekwini Municipality in Krämer, 2019:5). According to the eThekwini Municipality (2017:37), the Municipality covers an area of approximately 2555km2 and is home to some 3.6 million people in 2016. By comparison, eThekwini is one of the largest cities in South Africa. But nevertheless, eThekwini Municipality is plagued by an array of social, economic, environmental and governance challenges (eThekwini Municipality, 2017:37). The eThekwini Municipality is in a province where political intolerance and violence has been rife. The trust between the police and communities in KZN has been primarily bad because the province was regarded as a ‘killing field’ in the early 1990s (de Haas, 2016:43). The eThekwini Municipality became a niche area for this study because not much has changed over recent years since the province continues to account for the highest number of deaths related to political intolerance and violence (Bruce, 2014:1). Krämer (2019:3) argues that political violence is more severe in KZN. To lend credence to the severity of political violence, Krämer (2019:3) argues that “More than one hundred local politicians were murdered between 2003 and 2013, with more than half killed between January 2011 and September 2012”.

7.3 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS APPLICABLE IN KWAZULU-NATAL

In this research, the terms “Chief” and “Chiefs” are used with great care and caution because they are “highly contested and sensitive” (Houston & Mbhele, 2011:8). Houston and Mbhele (2011:8) argue that terms such as *Inkosi* (an isiZulu word meaning Chief) and *Amakhosi* (an isiZulu word meaning Chiefs) have different meanings in KwaZulu-Natal because they are closely associated with colonial history.

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The use of these terms is found to be sensitive owing to the fact that, under colonialism, they had a colonially imposed status that reduced the role of the Chiefs and their integrity to government instruments (Houston & Mbhele, 2011:8-9). They were also perceived as colonial servants or collaborators (Butler, 2002:14). In this regard, Ntsebeza (in Butler, 2002:14) concurs that there was only a small number of "Chiefs" who did not act as colonial servants. However, it is worth noting that in a place like Natal (pre-1994), there was a need to strike a delicate balance between accommodating the Chiefs and providing for white settlement in the area (Palmary, 2004:4). The Chiefs' collaboration with the apartheid government was seen not only in Natal but also in many homelands such as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei (Palmary, 2004:7).

Based on the abovementioned reasons, the traditional leadership prefers and feels more comfortable to be called using terms with an isiZulu meaning. The preferred terms are *Isilo* (Paramount Chief or King) and *Induna* (Headman) or *Izinduna* (Headmen).

7.4 A DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

This section describes the research instruments (such as structured questionnaire, interview schedules for in-depth personal interviews and informed consent) that were used to collect data.

7.4.1 The structured questionnaire

The structured questionnaire consisted of three sections (A: social capital within the community; B: police-community partnerships; and C: community perceptions of CPFs), which comprehensively and systematically addressed the aim of the study. Section A explored the relationships within the community at the level of the individual, friends, neighbours, and relatives. The main aim of the first part of Section A was to find out how individuals, relatives and friends, and groups support one another if the urgent need arises, and how they participate in community activities such as meetings or community events, as well as the frequency of participation in group activities such as visiting each other. The other part of Section A sought to establish the nature and extent of trust, solidarity, and reciprocity in the community. These are the central elements that undergird social capital. Section B explored police-community

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partnerships or relations. The idea here was to explore the perceptions of the community with regard to the services rendered by the police, and to underscore the nature of social capital between the police and the community. Section C explored the relationship between the community and CPFs. The findings presented under Section C of the questionnaire are based on the community's perceptions of CPFs, and the level of social capital between the CPFs and the community.

7.4.2 In-depth personal interviews (Interview schedules)

The in-depth personal interviews were semi-structured. An interview schedule (consisting of open-ended questions) was specifically destined for community leaders, regardless of affiliation. It focused on two aspects, namely leadership structures that exist in the community and the support they provide in terms of resolving community challenges, and the institutional support from different stakeholders (or institutions). The active leadership identified was mainly traditional and political. The institutions included the police and the CPFs. The community leaders were systematically asked to appraise, critique, and share their thoughts regarding the support rendered by the police and CPFs in the community. In doing so, the community leaders essentially had to compare and contrast the different roles that the CPFs and the police play. As part of critiquing, they were asked to appraise the performance of a plethora of leadership structures in the community and institutions and to give respective scores. While critiquing and evaluating the two entities, the interview schedule also asked the community leaders to dissect the role played by the community.

7.4.3 Focus group interviews (Interview schedules)

The focus group interviews (or discussions) were semi-structured to allow for a flexible, easy-going, and uninterrupted flow of discussion. Two different sets of interview schedules (using open-ended questions) were formulated for the police officials and CPF members respectively. The use of two interview schedules sought to cumulatively strengthen, self-correct, and bolster the objectivity of the research findings. This was so because some of the information gathered either contradicted/invalidated or corroborated/validated each other. The interview schedule for the police officials typically explored various factors that foster, facilitate, promote, and enhance the role of police officers in communities. These include ongoing working

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relationships with the community or robust synergies that exist between the police and communities aimed at achieving a common end (or that are mutually beneficial). It is instructive to note that the interview schedule also thoroughly explored the factors (or challenges) that stifle, hinder, impede, and complicate the relationship between the police and communities. Factors such as trust and power that cause these two entities to be at loggerheads with each other (or the factors that are mutually exclusive) were salient in this regard. The interview schedule for the CPF members sought to determine how they were established; the factors that foster, promote, and improve their role in the community; and the existing relationships they have with other stakeholders such as the police and the community. In addition, the interview schedule also sought to interrogate the factors or challenges that undermine, stifle, hamper, and complicate the role of CPFs in the community.

7.4.4 Informed consent

The informed consent was prepared so that participants could give consent before they participate. The informed consent outlined the purpose and details of the study, the rights and the role(s) of the participants. It gave various assurances to the participants. For example, it assured the participants that their participation was voluntary. It also assured them that the information they shared was going to be treated confidentially and that their personal details were not going to be divulged. The participants were asked to give a written consent.

7.5 PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS

As explicated in the research and methodology section (see Chapter 1) that in-depth personal interviews, focus group discussions, and structured questionnaires were used in this research, a specific criterion was used to select respondents, namely expert knowledge. Firstly, expert knowledge was assumed to be found in community leaders (in particular, traditional and political leaders). Furthermore, expert knowledge was assumed from the CPF members and police officials. From the leadership point of view, the main criterion that undergirded the selection was that an individual should be a leader in a community. The other criterion was that he/she should either be a police official or a member of the CPF in order to qualify to be included in the sample.

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Secondly, unlike the strict criteria used to select the participants for the in-depth personal interviews and focus group discussions, the structured questionnaires were randomly distributed and administered to everyone in the community, regardless of race, gender, class, religion, political affiliation, ethnicity, cultural beliefs, and sexual orientation. The structured questionnaires also did not discriminate against any potential participant either on the basis of literacy or illiteracy. It was open to everyone, and everyone participated. A restriction was only imposed on potential participants who were below 18 years of age. The cohort below the age of 18 was not included. The defining feature that undergirded the selection criteria was that the participants had to be the residents (employed or unemployed) of KwaXimba community.

Thirdly, different codes were used throughout this study to anonymise and protect the identity of the participants. On the one hand, Participants A, Participant B, and Participant C were used to refer to three CPF members who participated in a focus group discussion. On the other hand, Participant 1, Participant 2, Participant 3, and so on were used to refer to members of the police who participated in a focus group discussion. Participant SN, Participant NT, Participant, MS, Participant MM, Participant MD, Participant MN, Participant NB, Participant MV, Participant SS, Participant NS, and Participant NM were used to refer to traditional leaders. Lastly, Participant LG was used to refer to the participant from local government. The following section starts to present the quantitative data in the form of tables supported by qualitative data.

7.6 RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS, AND RELATIVES

The structured questionnaire was used to test the relationships among friends, neighbours, and relatives. In order to determine the level and nature of social capital in the community, questions were asked using a scale of “yes”, “no”, or “not sure”. In an effort to make it easy for the participants to answer, hypothetical scenarios were created and used. Tables 7.1 to 7.10 indicate the responses to the set of closed-ended questions that were used to test the level of social capital.

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Table 7.1: A friend that I can call when the house is burning down

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Valid percentage (%)	Cumulative percentage (%)
Yes	132	88.0	88.0	88.0
No	14	9.3	9.3	97.3
Not sure	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.1 shows how the respondents answered when they were asked whether they would call their friends or not when they were in need of support in an emergency situation. A house burning down is the scenario that was given in order to determine whether the participants would make use of their friends. Out of 150 respondents, 132 (88%) said that they would call a friend when an emergency situation arose. While a significant number 132(88%) said "yes", 14 (9.3%) of the respondents said "no". A marginal number of respondents, four out of 150 (2.7%), were not sure whether they would call their friends in case of an emergency. When there is an emergency situation, the community does play a role (Participants SN, MM, LG). Participant MM added that:

> *"…we, as traditional leaders, are tasked on a daily basis to meet with the community and find out from the community the challenges that they are experiencing*".

Participant MS mentioned that: "*In the community meetings, various reports pertaining to the challenges facing the community are presented*". Usually, such reports include helping families who need support in the form of food (Participant MS).

Table 7.2: A neighbour that I can call when the house is burning down

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	134	89.3	89.9	89.9
No	8	5.3	5.4	95.3
Not sure	7	4.7	4.7	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Using the same scenario (house burning down), information was elicited from the respondents. The only pertinent difference was that instead of making use of the variable of friends, the participants were asked whether they would make use of their neighbours in case an emergency situation arose. The options "yes", "no", and "not sure" were used. Out of 150 participants, 134 (89.9%) said "yes". Only eight

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participants (5.4%) said “no”, while seven participants (4.7%) were not sure. Only one respondent did not answer this question. This may partly imply that community members trust one another. Trust is salient in promoting collective action (Esau, 2008:357). Other examples of supporting each other were given by leadership in the community. For example, Participant MS argued that:

> *“Institutions that are helping in this community include football club owners when we play soccer, and the sand truck owners because they are getting sand from our community. Sand truck owners usually contribute R500 each, and I also contribute R1000 as a headman. Then we organise community events. In these events we often warn people about crime and its consequence on the social cohesion that is found in the community”*.

It is important to note that while Participant LG firmly argued in support of Participant MS by claiming that the community is united and is succeeding in helping each other where necessary, Participant MM acknowledged that: “*We are working together, although it is happening gradually*”.

Table 7.3: A relative that I can call when the house is burning down

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	132	88.0	88.6	88.6
No	13	8.7	8.7	97.3
Not sure	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Akin to the two previous tables, a similar scenario (house burning down) was used to determine how the participants would respond if a similar incident happened to a relative. As shown in Table 7.3, 132 participants (88.6%) out of 149 said they would gladly assist a relative. Thirteen participants (8.7%) said “no”, while four participants (2.7%) were not sure. Only one participant did not answer this question. A similar example of helping each other in an emergency situation was given in the in-depth personal interviews. Participant SN mentioned that:

> *“The community does play a role especially in dealing with muggers who rob people. One mugger was caught by the community and was beaten by everybody”.*

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Sharing similar sentiments with Participant SN, Participant MN purported that:

> *"The are partnerships amongst the community – yes, there is an incident where a boy was caught red-handed stealing. The community reacted differently. Certain members of the community were calling for his throat to be slit while others steadfastly and dutifully insisted that the matter must be reported to the police"*.

Although incidences of taking the law into one's own hand may not be approved, it does imply that there is a collective effort from the community to discourage social issues that endanger trust and social cohesion. There is willingness to work together. For example, Participant NT maintained that: "*The community attends meetings where we discuss the challenges*".

Table 7.4: Asking a friend, neighbour, or relative for transport

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	139	92.7	92.7	92.7
No	7	4.7	4.7	97.3
Not sure	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.4, the participants were asked to indicate whether they would go to their friends, neighbours, or relatives when they were in need of transport. Of the 150 participants who completed the questionnaires, a large proportion of the participants 139 (92.7%) said they would either go to a friend, neighbour, or relative if they needed transport. The table shows that the relationship was good between friends, neighbours, and relatives. On the contrary, only seven participants (4.7%) said they would not go to their close neighbour, friend, or relative. Table 7.4 also shows that only four participants (2.7%) out of 150 said they were not sure what they would do if the need for transport arose. To demystify why community members would support each other when they need transport, Participant NS pointed that: "*No one is belittled; we treat each other with respect*". Participant NS went on to say: "*We do not have serious hindrances or crime because this place is comparatively peaceful*".

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Table 7.5: The friend, neighbour, or relative who is most probably going to give me transport

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Neighbour	50	33.3	34.2	34.2.
Friend	42	28.0	28.8	63.0
Relative	54	36.0	37.0	100.0
Total	**146**	**97.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	4	2.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Given that the participants seemed to trust their friends, neighbours, or relatives regarding asking for transport, Table 7.5 shows the results of the participants being asked to identify among the three groups who was most likely to help them with transport. Out of 146 participants who answered this question, 54 participants (37%) said they would most likely be assisted by their relatives, as opposed to 50 participants (34.2%) who said they would most likely be assisted by their neighbours. Furthermore, 42 participants (28.8%) said they would most likely be assisted by their friends. Only four participants (2.7%) did not respond to this question. This suggests that human relationships are strong, regardless of whether it is a friend, neighbour, or relative. Cancino (2005:291) aptly explains that social capital provides means for bridging human relationships, communities, and institutions for the sake of public good.

Table 7.6: Giving support to a friend, neighbour, or relative

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	118	78.7	79.2	79.2
No	15	10.0	10.1	89.3
Not sure	16	10.7	10.7	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As opposed to asking the participants about the services they received (or may receive) from neighbours, friends, or relatives, this question asked them about the support they gave (or may give) to their friend, neighbour, or relative. “Support” meant any form of support that may be required as and when situations dictated or demanded. As shown in Table 7.6, most of the participants 118 (79.2%) said they would not hesitate to provide support to their friends, neighbours, or relatives. Only 15 participants (10.1%) said they would not support their friends, neighbours, or relatives. Of the 149 participants who responded, 16 (10.7%) said they were not sure. Generally, the community does not only support friends, neighbours or relatives, everyone is

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treated the same, and the community works with everyone. For example, Participant MD mentioned that:

> *"We also work together with Community Health Workers. We ask them to get medicine from the clinic, especially for people who cannot afford the public transport. We also work with social workers who assist in applying for and renewing social grants".*

Table 7.7: Other sources of assistance apart from friends, neighbours, or relatives

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	86	57.3	58.1	58.1
No	41	27.3	27.7	85.8
Not sure	21	14.0	14.2	100.0
Total	**148**	**98.7**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	2	1.3	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Primarily as a follow-up question, the participants were asked if they would consider asking for any form of assistance from people other than their friends, neighbours, or relatives. The question sought to determine whether there was any form of assistance that was obtained (or may be obtained) from a level or layer that transcended people who were close to the participants. The aim was to understand whether distant relationships existed in the community or not. It is instructive to point out that 86 participants (58.1%) out of 148 who responded said they would definitely seek assistance from people who were distant. A significantly lower margin of 41 participants (27.7%) said they would not seek assistance from people who were distant. Lastly, only 21 participants (14.2%) said they were not sure what they would do, while two participants (1.3%) did not answer this question. Like Participant MD mentioned that the community helps people who cannot afford public transport, Participant LG mentioned that: *"…there are partnerships in place*". While Participant MD mentioned support from the Community Health Workers, Participant MS mentioned that there is also support from football club owners and sand truck owners.

Table 7.8: Sources of assistance inside and outside the community

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	104	69.3	70.3	70.3
No	28	18.7	18.9	89.2
Not sure	16	10.7	10.8	100.0
Total	**148**	**98.7**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	2	1.3	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

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Table 7.8 shows the results of whether residents received assistance from inside the community or outside. Most respondents 104 (70.3%) indicated that the source of assistance was from inside the community, while 28 participants (18.9%) said they did not receive assistance from inside the community but received it from outside the community. At the same time, the table shows that 16 participants (10.8%) said they were unsure whether they received assistance from inside or outside the community. Lastly, two participants (1.3%) preferred not to answer this question. There were many examples of assistance were given inside the community. Participant LG mentioned that:

> *"There is one woman who went missing and up until today, she could not be found. She left her children behind. After hearing the incident, the community drove to her house using cars. People searched in the bushes but could not find her".*

Table 7.9: Asking for assistance (in the form of sugar or salt) from a friend, neighbour, or relative

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	139	92.7	92.7	92.7
No	7	4.7	4.7	97.3
Not sure	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.9 shows that the character or level of support among friends, neighbours, and relatives was also tested through the use of asking for small food items such as sugar and salt. The idea was to determine whether they helped each other if the need arose. The responses varied considerably. Out of 150 participants, 139 (92.7%) said they would go to their friends, neighbours, or relatives if they ran out of salt or sugar. Only a small proportion of participants (seven participants or 4.7%) said they would not go to their friends, neighbours, or relatives if they ran out of salt or sugar. Only four participants (2.7%) were undecided; they were not sure what they would do if they ran out of sugar or salt.

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Table 7.10: Expecting your friend, neighbour, or relative to pay you a visit when you are bedridden

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	145	96.7	97.3	97.3
No	2	1.3	1.3	98.7
Not sure	2	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.10 shows how the participants responded to the question about whether they would like their friends, neighbours, or relatives to visit them when they are sick. A vast majority of participants 145 (97.3%) said they would really appreciate to be visited by their friends, neighbours, or relatives when they are sick. Of the 149 participants who responded, only two participants (1.3%) said they would not want their friends, neighbours, or relatives to visit them when they are sick. Equally, only two participants (1.3%) said they were unsure about whether they would like their friends, neighbours, or relatives to visit them when they are sick. Lastly, only one participant (0.7%) did not answer this question.

7.7 FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION AND INTERACTION WITH NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS

Since it is widely accepted that social capital exists at the level of the individual, group, and community, it was imperative to determine how people participate in community meetings or gatherings that take place in the community. While participation is a central element of social capital, it underscores or ascertains the individual's involvement in community activities. The participants' articulations were crucial to determine the frequency of participation, as well as the level of community involvement. Tables 7.11 to 7.18 indicate how the participants responded.

Table 7.11: Neighbours who visited in the last few days (one to seven days)

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	125	83.3	83.3	83.3
No	23	15.3	15.3	98.7
Not sure	2	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

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Table 7.11 depicts the participants' responses to the question relating to whether they were visited by their neighbours or not in the last few days. As shown in the table, the responses varied significantly. A large proportion of the participants 125 (83.3%) out of 150 who responded said that they had been visited by their neighbours over the last few days. Twenty-three participants (15.3%) said they had not been visited by their neighbours over the period of the last few days. Only two participants (1.3%) were not sure. In the qualitative data, the traditional leaders indicated that there are strong bonds in the community. The frequency of visiting each other confirms Saegert and Winkel's (2004:220) argument that "members of networks characterised by higher levels of social capital share a sense of mutual obligation, shared norms, and trustworthiness". The community members support one another if there is a need. The example was given by Participant MD where the community works with the Community Health Workers. Community Health Workers are asked to get medication from the clinic, especially to assist people who cannot afford public transport.

Table 7.12: Friends who visited in the last few days (one to seven days)

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	126	84.0	84.0	84.0
No	23	15.3	15.3	99.3
Not sure	1	0.7	0.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Since visiting each other is normally a two-way (or simultaneous) process, Table 7.12 shows how often friends visited each other in terms of how the participants responded to the question pertaining to visits paid by their close friends. The research data show that most participants (126 or 84.0%) agreed that they had been visited by their friends in the last few days. As shown in the table, only 23 participants (15.3%) out of 150 said they had not been visited by their friends in the last few days. Only one participant (0.7%) was not sure whether he/she had been visited by friends or not.

Table 7.13: Visiting friends or neighbours in the last few days (one to seven days)

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	127	84.7	84.7	84.7
No	20	13.3	13.3	98.0
Not sure	3	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

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As shown in Table 7.13, the participants were asked whether they had paid a visit (or visits) to their friends or neighbours in the last few days. Although a large proportion of the participants agreed, the responses decidedly varied. Out of 150 participants who completed the questionnaire, 127 participants (84.7%) indicated that they had visited their friends or neighbours in the last few days. Despite this demonstrable outright majority, 20 participants (13.3%) indicated that they had not visited their friends or neighbours in the last few days. Consequently, it is also imperative to point out that of 150 participants, only a small proportion (three participants or 2.0%) indicated that they were not sure.

Table 7.14: Participating in a public space (community meetings, rituals, parties, clubs, restaurants, etc.)

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	102	68.0	69.4	69.4
No	40	26.7	27.2	96.6
Not sure	5	3.3	3.4	100.0
Total	**147**	**98.0**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	3	2.0	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.14, the participants were asked about their participation in public spaces. The idea was to determine their participation and active involvement in community meetings, rituals, parties, clubs, restaurants, etc. Out of 147 participants who completed this question, 102 participants (69.4%) confirmed that they participated in public spaces or gatherings. Furthermore, 40 participants (27.2%) stated that they never participated in a public space or gathering. In contrast, a significantly lower number of participants (five or 3.4%) said they were not sure. Lastly, three participants (2.0%) failed to answer this question for various reasons. In accordance with the overwhelming 69.4% of the participants who confirmed that they participated in a public space, a local government participant (Participant LG) argued that the community was well organised and disciplined. This was said in the context that when a meeting is organised and the community is informed properly, the community attends.

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Table 7.15: A major event that was organised by friends and neighbours in the community

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	63	42.0	42.0	42.0
No	82	54.7	54.7	96.7
Not sure	5	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

As opposed to Table 7.14 where participants were asked about their frequency of participation in public spaces or gatherings, Table 7.15 sought to determine whether friends or neighbours were able to organise a major community event or not. The main idea was to check the zeal, ingenuity, and ability to organise major events in the community. Out of 150 participants, 82 (54.7%) indicated that they had never organised a major event in the community. The other fraction (63 participants or 42.0%) indicated that they had organised a major event in the community before. Conversely, only five participants (3.3%) indicated that they were not sure. As was established through discussions with community leaders, the community awaits the leaders to organise meetings and if the leaders fail to do so, the community organises service delivery protests. Like in most places in South Africa, protests that took place in the community were militant and violent. These included burning tyres and barricading roads.

Table 7.16: A CPF meeting that was attended by friends or neighbours

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	30	20.0	20.0	20.0
No	103	68.7	68.7	88.7
Not sure	17	11.3	11.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.16, the participants were asked whether they knew of friends or neighbours who had been to any CPF meetings. The aim was to determine the level of awareness about CPF activities and to gauge the respondents' participation in those activities. To this end, it is particularly imperative to accentuate that the responses varied significantly. Firstly, out of 150 participants, 103 (68.7%) said they had never been to a CPF meeting. Secondly, only 30 participants (20.0%) agreed that they had been to a CPF meeting. Finally, only 17 participants (11.3%) said they were not entirely sure whether they had been to a CPF meeting before or not. To this end, the enormity of data (68.7%) clearly shows that the community was unaware of the meetings that

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were organised by the CPF in the community. In this context, Participant MN pointed out that they did not even know whether a CPF existed or not. In a similar vein, Participant MS argued: *"The community doesn't know anything about the CPF.*" Consequently, Participant SN pointed out: *"Since I was appointed as a headman, the CPF never had a meeting."*

Table 7.17: Street community meetings that were attended by friends or neighbours

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	65	43.3	43.9	43.9
No	70	46.7	47.3	91.2
Not sure	13	8.7	8.8	100.0
Total	**148**	**98.7**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	2	1.3	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.17 shows a plethora of responses provided by the participants with regard to their knowledge of friends or neighbours who attended street community meetings. Apart from asking them about their friends or neighbours, this question also asked the participants directly as to whether they attended street community meetings or not. Here yet again, exceedingly varied responses were provided. Out of 148 participants who answered this question, 70 participants (47.3%) denied that they had ever attended street community meetings. They also said they had no knowledge of friends or neighbours who attended in the past. Furthermore, 65 participants (43.9%) confirmed that they had attended street community meetings either as individuals or with friends and neighbours. Only 13 participants (8.8%) said that they were not sure. Two participants (1.3%) skipped this question. Although 43.9% of the participants indicated that they had attended a community meeting before, it emerged in discussions with community leaders that most meetings were organised by different structures (traditional and political leadership). To this end, Participant MM indicated: *"The ward councillor is doing all he could to fight crime in the area, every now and then he does convene meetings and give a lengthy explanation to the community about the elements of crime."* Most participants purported that the ward councillor played a prominent role in fighting crime in the area (Participants MS, MM, NT, and MD).

The headmen also organised community meetings, especially in different sub-sections (Participants SN, MM, and MN).

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Table 7.18: Ward committee meetings attended by friends or neighbours

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	83	55.3	55.3	55.3
No	55	36	36.7	92.0
Not sure	12	8.0	8.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.18 depicts the responses of the participants to the question relating to attending ward committee meetings. The participants were asked whether they attended, or knew of friends or neighbours who attended, any ward committee meetings before. The aim of this question was to determine the participation of participants and their close friends in community meetings. As shown in Table 7.18, the responses varied significantly. Out of 150 participants who answered the question, 83 (55.3%) said they had attended a ward committee meeting before. Consequently, while 55 participants (36.7%) said they had not attended a ward committee meeting before, only 12 participants (8.0%) said they were unsure. Various reports pertaining to community challenges are reported in community meetings (Participant MS). In this regard, the local government, especially at the ward committee level, appeared to be more active (55.3%) in terms of organising community meetings, while Participant MS indicated: *"The leadership, in the form of police, the chief, together with ward councillor, is doing all it could to stop crime."* To corroborate the quantitative data, the ward councillor seemed to stand out according the participants. Most of the participants (especially the traditional leaders) indicated that the ward councillor played a prominent role in the community (Participants MM, MN, NT, and MD).

7.8 TRUST, SOLIDARITY, AND RECIPROCITY

As shown in Chapter 2, trust, solidarity, and reciprocity are key dimensions or central features of social capital. In particular, it was important to understand whether these dimensions existed in the community or not in order to understand how they act as determinants, enablers, or constraints (or provide a conducive environment) to trust-building between the police and communities. Tables 7.19 to 7.25 clearly indicate the participants' perceptions or indications of trust, solidarity, and reciprocity that exist in the community.

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Table 7.19: My neighbour or I assisted a family that had no food

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	93	62.0	62.4	62.4
No	38	25.3	25.5	87.9
Not sure	18	12.0	12.1	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.19, the participants were asked to indicate whether they have provided support to neighbours who were in need of food in the past. The rationale behind this question was to determine the level of solidarity and reciprocity that existed in the community. To this, out of 149 participants who answered this question, 93 (62.4%) agreed that they had assisted a neighbour (or were assisted by a neighbour) who desperately needed food. Of the 149 responses, 38 participants (25.5%) said they had never assisted a neighbour (or were never assisted) before. Eighteen participants (12.1%) were not absolutely sure whether they had assisted their neighbours (or had received assistance) in the form of providing food or not. Only one participant (0.7%) skipped this question.

Table 7.20: Going to a job interview and leaving a child behind with a neighbour to look after him/her

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	130	86.7	86.7	86.7
No	14	9.3	9.3	96.0
Not sure	6	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.20 illustrates the responses provided by the participants with regard to going to a job interview. The question asked the participants whether they would seriously consider leaving their children with neighbours when they went to a job interview. The responses differed considerably. The idea behind this question was to ascertain and underscore the level of trust, solidarity, and reciprocity between neighbours. In other words, it sought to understand whether the neighbours helped each other or not if the need arose. Firstly, 130 participants (86.7%) out of 150 indicated that they would certainly leave their children with their neighbours. Secondly, very few participants (14 out of 150 or 9.3%) said they would not leave their children with their neighbours when

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they needed to go for a job interview. Only six participants (4.0%) were not sure whether they would leave their children with their neighbours or not.

Table 7.21: Looking after the neighbour's child while he/she is gone

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	138	92.0	92.0	92.0
No	8	5.3	5.3	97.3
Not sure	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

A closely related hypothetical scenario was used where the participants were asked whether they would gladly assist their neighbours by looking after their children without expecting anything in return. The primary objective of this question was to shed some light on the level of reciprocity, trust, and solidarity in the community, or alternatively, the ability of the community members to instinctively help each other without any reward. As shown in Table 7.21, 138 participants (92.0%) out of a total of 150 said they would gladly and willingly assist their neighbours without expecting anything in return. In contrast, eight participants (5.3%) indicated that they would not assist their neighbours if they would not get anything in return. Finally, only four participants (2.7%) said they were not sure what they would do if such a situation arose.

Table 7.22: People doing voluntary work in the community without getting paid

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	85	56.7	57.0	57.0
No	44	29.3	29.5	86.6
Not sure	20	13.3	13.4	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.22 depicts the responses to the question on voluntary work that is done in the community by people (neighbours, friends, or relatives) without getting paid. The idea was to determine the level of reciprocity, trust, and solidarity that existed in the community. The responses in this regard differed significantly. Firstly, 85 participants (57.0%) out of 149 who completed the question indicated that they would do voluntary work without expecting any form of payment. Secondly, 44 participants (29.5%) indicated that they would not do voluntary work without receiving any form of payment. While 29.5% of the participants said they would not do voluntary work, only 20 participants (13.4%) were not sure what they would do.

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Table 7.23: Contributing to the repatriation fees for a community member who died and the family cannot afford to repatriate the body

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	107	71.3	71.8	71.8
No	19	12.7	12.8	84.6
Not sure	23	15.3	15.4	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	99.3	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

In an effort to further understand how the participants would respond when a community member is in need of their support, a hypothetical scenario was created and used to determine the existence of solidarity, reciprocity, and trust in the community. A scenario of a person who died in Cape Town and his/her family struggling to repatriate the body of the deceased was used to determine the elements of social capital. To this end, there were indeed mixed reactions. As shown in Table 7.23, of the 149 participants who answered the question, 107 (71.8%) said they would contribute to assist in repatriating the body of the deceased who died in a place that is far such as Cape Town. While 23 participants (15.4%) said they were not sure what they would do under such circumstances, 19 participants (12.8%) said they would definitely not contribute to the repatriation of the body of the deceased.

Table 7.24: Contributing to the repatriation fees for a stranger who died in a place that is far

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	86	57.3	57.7	57.7
No	23	15.3	15.4	73.2
Not sure	40	26.7	26.8	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**99.99**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.24 created and used the same hypothetical scenario as in Table 7.23. However, the fundamental difference was that it was not a person who was known in the community, but rather a stranger who died in a place that was far away and the family could not afford to repatriate the body. As stated above, the primary objective of this question was to understand whether the community members would willingly and unreservedly extend a helping hand to a family that could not afford to repatriate the body regardless of whether they knew the deceased or not. Eighty-six participants

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(57.7%) indicated that they would certainly contribute to the repatriation fees that were aimed at helping to repatriate the body of a stranger. At the same time, a total of 40 participants (26.8%) pointed out that they would not contribute to the repatriation of the body of the deceased who was a stranger in the community. Finally, 23 participants (15.4%) categorically stated that they would not contribute to the repatriation of the body of a stranger. One participant (0.7%) did not answer this question.

Table 7.25: People going to the family of the deceased to find out what happened

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Yes	142	94.7	96.6	96.6
No	3	2.0	2.0	98.6
Not sure	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
Total	**147**	**98.0**	**99.4**	**–**
Missing system	3	2.0	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As opposed to using a hypothetical scenario (repatriating the body of the deceased), a slightly different but still hypothetical situation was used, with the responses presented in Table 7.25. A scenario testing how people would respond to a family where a family member had passed away was used, namely “Upon hearing the bad news, the family screams hysterically and unrestrainedly”. Despite a slight difference in the technique of asking, the aim of this question was to determine the level of solidarity, reciprocity, and trust in the community. The responses determined how the community would react after hearing bad news. Firstly, 142 participants (96.6%) out of 147 who answered the question argued that people normally go to the family of the deceased to find out what happened (or how the member died). While only three participants (2.0%) said they would not go to the family where a member has just passed on, two participants (1.4%) indicated that they were not sure how they would respond after hearing hysterical screaming. Due to a myriad of reasons, three participants (2.0%) did not answer this question. The participants indicated that they would quickly go to the family of the deceased partly because death can strike any family and at any given time; death is not like a party or function that is planned.

7.9 INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

Using their own observations, perceptions, and experiences, the participants were asked to indicate how police officers were doing their job. This section proved to be

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extremely important since police officers render services to the community. It was necessary to determine the nature of social capital that exists (or does not exist) between the police officers and the community. Tables 7.26 to 7.36 therefore provide quantitative data based on the participants' perceptions of how police officers do their work in the community.

Table 7.26: Police officials are doing a good job in this place

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	9	6.0	6.0	6.0
Agree	16	10.7	10.7	16.7
Neutral	44	29.3	29.3	46.0
Disagree	52	34.7	34.7	80.7
Strongly disagree	29	19.3	19.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**90.0**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.26, the participants were asked to indicate how they perceived what police officials were doing in the community. The objective of this question was to explore the perceptions of community members with regard to the performance of police officials. To this end, 52 participants (34.7%) disagreed that the police officials were doing their job in the community and 29 participants (19.3%) strongly disagreed. Out of 150 participants, 44 participants (29.3%) indicated that they were neutral. Lastly, while nine participants (6.0%) strongly agreed that the police officials were doing a good job, 16 participants (10.7%) agreed. The data on who disagreed (34.7% and 19.3%) clearly show that most participants were not happy with the work of the police in the area. To corroborate this, the qualitative interviews confirmed unequivocally that the work of the police was not convincing. Participant SN indicated: *"If I were to give the police points on how they do their work, I would give them really low points."* In support of this, Participant MM argued: "*They [the police] only exist on paper, they know that, they don't deny it."* To this end, Participant LG indicated that he would give the community 85 out of 100 because of discipline and organisation. After interrogation, Participant LG stated, *"I would give the SAPS in this case; I would give them maybe 46 percent out of 100."*

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Table 7.27: Police officials are working with the community

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	11	7.3	7.4	7.4
Agree	19	12.7	12.8	20.1
Neutral	41	27.3	27.5	47.7
Disagree	58	38.7	38.9	86.6
Strongly disagree	20	13.3	13.4	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.27 depicts how the participants responded when they had to indicate whether police officials worked with the community or not. The rationale behind this question was to determine the character or the level of partnership or collaboration between the police officials and the community. Firstly, 58 participants (38.9%) disagreed. Secondly, 41 participants (27.5%) were undecided and indicated that they were neutral. Thirdly, of the 149 participants who answered the question, 20 participants (13.4%) indicated that they strongly disagreed. Finally, while 19 participants (12.8%) agreed, only 11 participants (7.4%) strongly agreed. Only one participant did not respond to the questions. The working relationship is weak, as seen through the lens of the data (38.9% and 13.4% of participants disagreed). Reasons were put forward in the qualitative interviews. For example, it was indicated that *"… we've got a crisis, we've got a crisis"* (Participant LG).

Table 7.28: Police officials are visible

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	9	6.0	6.0	6.0
Agree	35	23.3	23.5	29.5
Neutral	50	33.3	33.6	63.1
Disagree	36	24.0	24.2	87.2
Strongly disagree	19	12.7	12.8	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.28 depicts that the responses did not differ significantly among the participants when they were asked to indicate whether the police were visible or not. According to this question, the high visibility of police officials meant that they were doing their job, especially patrolling the community; whereas low visibility meant that they were not doing any patrols in the community. Firstly, 50 participants (33.6%) were undecided

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(or neutral), and indicated that the police officials did visit at certain times but not at other critical times. Secondly, while 36 participants (24.2%) disagreed, 35 participants (23.5%) agreed. Here it is worth mentioning that the responses (disagree and agree) differed with a very narrow margin. Thirdly, 19 participants (12.8%) disagreed strongly, while nine participants (6.0%) agreed strongly that the police officials were visible. Consequently, based on the slightly different responses, it could be deduced that most of the participants were not sure how to respond to this question. Ferguson and Mindel (2007:322) found that the presence (visibility) of the police in neighbourhoods is key in lowering the fear of crime.

Table 7.29: When we report criminal activities, police officials take a long time to come or sometimes they do not come at all

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	35	23.3	23.6	23.6
Agree	46	30.7	31.1	54.7
Neutral	37	24.7	25.0	79.7
Disagree	18	12.0	12.2	91.9
Strongly disagree	12	8.0	8.1	100.0
Total	**148**	**98.7**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	2	1.3	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.29 above, the participants were asked to indicate how long the police took to arrive when a matter had been reported. The idea behind this question was to determine the speed and the readiness with which police officials attended to alleged criminal activities. Firstly, 46 participants (31.1%) agreed that when they reported crime, police officials normally took a long time to come or sometimes did not come at all. In the same breath, 35 participants (23.6%) strongly agreed that when they reported a crime, police officials either took a long time to come or did not come at all. Secondly, 37 participants (25.0%) were undecided (or neutral). Thirdly, while 18 participants (12.2%) disagreed with the statement, 12 participants (8.1%) strongly disagreed. Finally, only two participants (1.3%) did not answer this question. To this end, Participant MN confirmed unequivocally: *"Sometimes the police come very late. I'm not happy with the service delivery that is rendered by the police."* In a similar vein, Participant NB stated categorically: *"I can give the police five points because they come once a person has been killed, they don't do patrols at all."* In this case, it is argued that, because of various reasons, the uncooperative or unfriendly behaviour of

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the community is usually influenced by the antagonistic attitude of the police (Ikuteyijo, 2008:286).

Table 7.30: The community is losing confidence in police officials' abilities

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	37	24.7	24.7	24.7
Agree	64	42.7	42.7	67.3
Neutral	33	22.0	22.0	89.3
Disagree	12	8.0	8.0	97.3
Strongly disagree	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.30 shows how the participants responded when they were asked to indicate whether the community was losing confidence in the police officials' abilities or not. The idea was to understand the existing level of trust among the community members, particularly regarding how the police officials conduct their operations in the community. Of the 150 participants who answered this question, 64 participants (42.7%) agreed that the community had started to lose confidence in the police officials' abilities. In a similar vein, 37 participants (24.7%) strongly agreed that the community had started to lose confidence in the police officials' abilities, whereas another significant margin of 33 participants (22.0%) were undecided or neutral. While 12 participants (8.0%) disagreed with the statement, four participants (2.7%) strongly disagreed. To further shed light on this, a number of qualitative interviews showed that the vast majority of the participants (Participants LG, MM, NB, and MS) agreed unanimously that the police were doing nothing in the community. Instead, the police are doing the opposite. For example, Participant MS argued: *"They let the wrongdoers walk free."* According to Ikuteyijo (2008:285), the police are expected to be above board when they do their job. Yet the experience shows that in most cases, the police fail to change public perception (Ikuteyijo, 2008:285). The public often loses trust and confidence in the police if they are caught doing things like being involved in corruption (Ikuteyijo, 2008:285).

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Table 7.31: The police station often conducts public satisfaction surveys in order to improve performance

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	6	4.0	4.0	4.0
Agree	27	18.0	18.1	22.1
Neutral	42	28.0	28.2	50.3
Disagree	38	25.3	25.5	75.8
Strongly disagree	36	24.0	24.2	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.31 indicates how the participants responded when they were asked to indicate whether the police station conducts public satisfaction surveys to improve its performance or not. The reason for this question was to establish whether there are measures in place to monitor, evaluate, and oversee the performance of the police station. There were mixed reactions. To this end, 42 participants (28.2%), out of 149 who responded to the questions, were undecided (or neutral). While 38 participants (25.5%) disagreed that surveys were conducted by the police station, 36 participants (24.2%) strongly disagreed. On a positive note, while 27 participants (18.1%) agreed with the statement, six participants (4.0%) strongly agreed. In this case, most participants were clearly not sure what was happening. During the qualitative interviews, the participants did not indicate whether the local police station conducted public satisfaction surveys or not. Interestingly, such a finding is in accordance with Kleyn, Rothmann and Jackson's (2004:37) argument that very little quantitative research has been conducted on expectations of and satisfaction with the SAPS from the perspective of the community and the police members themselves. The participants mentioned a suggestion box at the police station that allowed them to express their complaints in writing.

Table 7.32: The community service offered by the police station is superb

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	16	10.7	10.7	10.7
Agree	28	18.7	18.7	29.3
Neutral	46	30.7	30.7	60.0
Disagree	38	25.3	25.3	85.3
Strongly disagree	22	14.7	14.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

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The participants were asked to indicate how they perceived the community service that is rendered by the police station. Although the responses differed, there was no fundamental or substantive difference. While it is widely accepted that police officials conduct operations outside the police station, it was crucial to objectively determine how they render community service to the public inside the police station. As shown in Table 7.32, a substantial proportion of participants (46 or 30.7%) were entirely undecided or neutral. Furthermore, 38 participants (25.3%) disagreed that the community service rendered by the police station was superb. While 28 participants (18.7%) agreed, 22 participants (14.7%) strongly disagreed that the community service rendered by the police station was superb. Finally, only 16 participants (10.7%) strongly agreed with the statement. These findings are in stark contrast with Kleyn *et al*.'s (2004:37) proposition that "an effective and efficient police service is important". The police service is important for securing and maintaining order (Kleyn *et al*., 2004:37).

Table 7.33: Police officials are failing to prevent crime

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	35	23.3	23.5	23.5
Agree	55	36.7	36.9	60.4
Neutral	38	25.3	25.5	85.9
Disagree	15	10.0	10.1	96.0
Strongly disagree	6	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As indicated in Table 7.33, the participants were asked to gauge and ascertain whether police officials were failing to do their job or not. Although the responses differed significantly, the table shows that most participants either agreed or strongly agreed that police officials were failing to do their job. In this regard, while 55 participants (36.9%) agreed with the statement, 35 participants (23.5%) strongly agreed that the police officials were failing to do their job. Furthermore, 38 participants (25.5%) were undecided (or neutral) about how the police were doing their job. While 15 participants (10.1%) disagreed with the statement, six participants (4.0%) strongly disagreed. Lastly, one participant (0.7%) skipped this question. To this end, the enormity of qualitative data showed that most participants were not entirely happy with the work of the police. They felt that the police officers were failing to do their job. For example, most traditional and political leaders held a similar view that the community

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was not safe even though there were police officers (Participants SN, LG, MN, and NB). Interestingly, in this context, one police officer (Participant 6) confessed that they could not cope: *"… we don't have adequate resources"*. Participant 6 further said, *"Since this is a rural area, people stay in mountainous and remote areas; sometimes you will find that they identify the house, but we're unable to get there walking."* Consequently, Jackson and Bradford (2009:493) advise that public support is key in order for the police and other criminal justice agencies to function effectively. This implies that the police cannot do their work alone, they need the community.

Table 7.34: I must report criminal activities to the police

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	30	20.0	20.0	20.0
Agree	74	49.3	49.3	69.3
Neutral	30	20.0	20.0	89.3
Disagree	10	6.7	6.7	96.0
Strongly disagree	6	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Despite uncertainty and lack of trust in the police officials, as shown in Table 7.33, the participants still held the view that they must report criminal matters to police officials. Table 7.34 shows that 74 participants (49.3%) agreed that they must continue to report crime to police officials. Furthermore, 30 participants (20.0%) either strongly agreed or were undecided. While ten participants (6.7%) disagreed that they must continue reporting crime to the police, only six participants (4.0%) strongly disagreed. Despite the police officers failing to do their work optimally, the qualitative data also showed that most people still wanted to report criminal matters to the police. In this regard, Participant MD indicated that *"… we encourage neighbourhood watch so that if the community sees something, then they report to the police"*. These findings are in line with Marks and Wood's (2007:136) argument that "the police remain central to local policing arrangements".

Table 7.35: I trust that police officers will apprehend offenders

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	19	12.7	12.7	12.7
Agree	36	24.0	24.0	36.7
Neutral	60	40.0	40.0	76.7
Disagree	23	15.3	15.3	92.0
Strongly disagree	12	8.0	8.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

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Table 7.35 shows how the participants responded to the question of whether they still trusted that police officials would arrest alleged criminals or not. The rationale behind this question was to explore the level of trust in police officials among community members. Despite marked differences in their responses, the participants did not seem positive. For example, 60 participants (40.0%) were undecided, while 36 participants (24.0%) agreed that they trusted that the police would arrest alleged criminals. Furthermore, 23 participants (15.3%) disagreed that police officials would be able to arrest alleged criminals. Nineteen participants (12.7%) strongly agreed with the statement. Out of 150 participants who responded to this question, only 12 participants (8.0%) strongly disagreed with the statement. As argued, it could be deduced that most participants (40.0%) were not sure how to respond to this question. Although slightly more participants (40%) were undecided, there was still hope among the community members that the police officers could still do their work. The renewed hope comes after the appointment of a new station commander. Because of the unsatisfactory performance of the police officers, Participant MS mentioned: *"We then requested that the police personnel be changed. They were changed."* Arguing along similar lines, Participant NT indicated: *"When I contact the police, they come although they rely on the community to assist them."* In one sub-section (Denge), it was indicated that the place was safe because of the police. In allocating a performance score, the police were given nine points out of ten (Participant MD). Public confidence in policing is important and is receiving attention (Jackson & Bradford, 2009:493).

Table 7.36: I am convinced that offenders will be punished for their offences

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	27	18.0	18.0	18.0
Agree	37	24.7	24.7	42.7
Neutral	47	31.3	31.3	74.0
Disagree	26	17.3	17.3	91.3
Strongly disagree	13	8.7	8.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.36 shows that a large proportion of the participants (47 or 31.3%) were undecided or neutral regarding whether alleged criminals would be punished for their offences or not, whereas a slightly lower margin (37 participants or 24.7%) agreed that alleged criminals would be punished for their offences. While 27 participants (18.0%) strongly agreed with the statement, 26 participants (17.3%) disagreed. Finally, it is worth mentioning that 13 participants (8.7%) disagreed strongly that alleged criminals

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would be punished for their offences. In this context, the qualitative data also showed that although there were many responses that were not in favour of the police, a few participants were of the view that the police officers could still do their job well if they were assisted by the community. Out of all the interviews conducted, two participants (Thweba and Denge sub-sections) spoke positively about the police officers. Participant NT indicated: *"I sometimes bump into them [the police] patrolling the area at night. I would say that this community is safe because of the police."* Participant NT further indicated:

> *"It is worrisome sometimes because others are saying they do not show up when they have been contacted. I think what makes them more reluctant to come is because they need assurance or confirmation that crime has been committed, otherwise they would waste state resources."*

7.10 INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF CPFs

Using their own perceptions and experiences, the participants were asked to indicate how CPF members were doing their job. Realistically, this section proved to be necessary since CPF members render a service to the community – acting mostly as a line of communication between the police and the community. Thus, since the relationship between the community and the CPF is based largely on partnerships and information sharing, it was absolutely pertinent to ascertain the nature of social capital that exists (or does not exist) in the community. Tables 7.37 to 7.46 therefore provide quantitative data based on the participants' perceptions of how CPF members do their work in the community.

Table 7.37: CPF members are doing a good job

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	7	4.7	4.7	4.7
Agree	23	15.3	15.4	20.1
Neutral	34	22.7	22.8	43.0
Disagree	42	28.0	28.2	71.1
Strongly disagree	43	28.7	28.9	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.4**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.37, the participants were asked to indicate how CPF members were doing their job in the community. The primary objective behind this question was to establish the participants' level of trust in and satisfaction with what the CPF is doing

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in the community. Expectedly, the responses varied immensely. Firstly, 43 participants (28.9%) strongly disagreed that CPF members were doing a good job in the community. Secondly, 42 participants (28.2%) disagreed that the CPF members were doing a good job in the community. Thirdly, 34 participants (22.8%) were undecided as to how the CPF members were doing their job. While 23 participants (15.4%) agreed with the statement, only seven participants (4.7%) strongly agreed that the CPF was doing a good job in the community. It is worth mentioning that 149 participants answered this question. In accordance with most participants (28.9% and 28.2%) who either disagreed or strongly disagreed that the CPF was doing a good job in the community, the qualitative data appeared to be in strong support of the quantitative data. It shed more light as to why the participants disagreed. Apart from whether they did the job or not, it emerged that the community did not even know the members of CPF. In this regard, Participant SN argued: *"I'm told there is a CPF, although I have never met a member of the CPF."* Most traditional leaders unanimously agreed that the CPF was either doing nothing or they did not know what it was supposed to do in the community (Participants SN, MM, MN, and MS). Participant MS pointed out: *"The CPF has never done anything for this community."* Although most participants disagreed that the CPF was doing a good job, Kleyn *et al*. (2004:37) concede that community policing is used "as a tool to enable police officers to prevent and control crime and to improve police-citizen relations".

Table 7.38: CPF members are working with the community

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	13	8.7	8.7	8.7
Agree	16	10.7	10.7	19.3
Neutral	38	25.3	25.3	44.7
Disagree	23	15.3	15.3	60.0
Strongly agree	60	40.0	40.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

As indicated in Table 7.38, the participants were asked to indicate how they (as community members) were working with the CPF. The primary objective of the question was to determine whether or not there was a partnership or collaboration between the CPF and the community. Of the 150 participants, 60 participants (40.0%) strongly disagreed that the CPF was working with the community. Furthermore, 23 participants (15.3%) disagreed that the CPF was working the community. Interestingly, 38 participants (25.3%) were undecided (or neutral). While 16 participants (10.7%)

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agreed that the CPF was working with the community, only 13 participants (8.7%) strongly agreed. Most of the traditional leaders indicated that the community was not even aware of the existence of the CPF (Participant MS). Interestingly, Participant MN pointed out: *"We don't even know whether we have CPF here or not. You get told that this is a new crop of CPF members, then all of a sudden, or the next day, you get to see other faces."* Shedding more light in this context, Participant NB indicated: *"We don't have CPF here … I can't respond to questions relating to what the CPF is doing."*

Table 7.39: When we report criminal activities, CPF members take a long time to come or sometimes they do not come at all

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	32	21.3	21.3	21.3
Agree	38	25.3	25.3	46.7
Neutral	38	25.3	25.3	72.0
Disagree	24	16.0	16.0	88.0
Strongly disagree	18	12.0	12.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**99.99**	**–**

Table 7.39 illustrates the time it takes for the CPF to respond to criminal matters that are reported to it. The aim of the question was to determine the level of responsiveness and the speed with which the CPF attends to complaints. On the one hand, 38 participants (25.3%) agreed that the CPF takes a long time to come or sometimes they did not come at all. On the other hand, the same amount of participants (25.3%) were undecided. Furthermore, despite clearly discernible equal margins, 32 participants (21.3%) strongly agreed that the CPF took a long time to come or sometimes did not come at all. While 24 participants (16.0%) disagreed with the statement, only 18 participants (12.0%) strongly disagreed. Lastly, despite a lack of an outright majority, it could be deduced that most participants were either undecided or they agreed that the CPF took a long time to respond. It emerged during the qualitative interviews that there was only one sub-section (Denge) where CPF members were doing a commendable job. Participant MD indicated: *"We have good communication with the CPF because some of the members are in my traditional council."*

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Table 7.40: The community is losing confidence in the CPF members' abilities

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	41	27.3	27.3	27.3
Agree	46	30.7	30.7	58.0
Neutral	31	20.7	20.7	78.7
Disagree	22	14.7	14.7	93.3
Strongly disagree	10	6.7	6.7	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.40 indicates how the participants responded when they were asked whether the community was beginning to lose confidence in the CPF members' abilities to do their job. The idea was to find out if the community had faith in the CPF or not. Firstly, 46 participants (30.7%) agreed that the community was starting to lose confidence in the CPF members' abilities to do their job. Secondly, 41 participants (27.3%) strongly agreed with the statement. Thirdly, 31 participants (20.7%) were neutral about the CPF's abilities. While 22 participants (14.7%) disagreed that the community was beginning to lose confidence, only ten participants (6.7%) strongly disagreed. Reasons were put forward as to why the community was starting to lose confidence in the CPF. Most participants indicated that they did not have a CPF in their sub-sections (Participants MS, MM, NB, NS, and MV). While they had a CPF in some places, it could not be launched in other places partly because people were scared of being called informers. Meetings were organised to elect CPF members, but people never showed up (Participant NS). While Participant NM indicated *"We are still planning to have it [CPF]"*, Participant MV said *"The CPF has done nothing here".* In this context, Kleyn *et al*. (2004:37) agree that there are many obstacles that obstruct the successful implementation and sustainability of community policing.

Table 7.41: The CPF members often conduct public satisfaction surveys in order to improve performance

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	8	5.3	5.3	5.3
Agree	23	15.3	15.3	20.7
Neutral	42	28.0	28.0	48.7
Disagree	45	30.0	30.0	78.7
Strongly disagree	32	21.3	21.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

As indicated in Table 7.41, the participants were asked whether or not CPF members conducted public satisfaction surveys in order to improve the CPF's performance. The rationale behind this question was to determine how the CPF obtained feedback from

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the community where it renders services. Firstly, 45 participants (30.0%) disagreed that the CPF conducted public satisfaction surveys. Secondly, 32 participants (21.3%) strongly disagreed with the statement. Thirdly, 42 participants (28.0%) were undecided or neutral. Finally, while 23 participants (15.3%) agreed that the CPF conducted public satisfaction surveys, only eight participants (5.3%) strongly agreed with the statement. In this context, the majority of the participants disagreed that the CPF conducted surveys aimed at improving its performance in rendering services. Kleyn *et al*. (2004:37) argue that it is important to study the public's opinion of community policing services.

Table 7.42: When I speak to CPF members, they are always willing to help

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	6	4.0	4.0	4.0
Agree	28	18.7	18.8	22.8
Neutral	45	30.0	30.2	53.0
Disagree	45	30.0	30.2	83.2
Strongly disagree	25	16.7	16.8	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

Table 7.42 shows the participants' responses after they were asked to indicate the willingness of CPF members to help when community members spoke to them. It was imperative to ask this question in order to understand whether the CPF does its job willingly or unwillingly. As shown in Table 7.42, the responses varied slightly. While 45 participants (30.2%) disagreed that the CPF was always willing to help when asked, another 45 participants (30.2%) were undecided. Furthermore, another slight difference was noticed when 28 participants (18.8%) agreed that the CPF was always willing to help, while 25 participants (16.8%) strongly disagreed. While one participant (0.7%) did not answer, six participants (4.0%) strongly agreed that the CPF members were always willing to help when they were asked.

Table 7.43: CPF members are failing to prevent crime

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	33	22.0	22.0	22.0
Agree	54	36.0	36.0	58.0
Neutral	37	24.7	24.7	82.7
Disagree	15	10.0	10.0	92.7
Strongly disagree	11	7.3	7.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

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As shown in Table 7.43, the participants were asked to share their experiences with regard to whether the CPF members were failing to do their job or not. The idea was to understand the experiences and perceptions of the community with regard to the role played by the CPF in the community. Firstly, of the 150 participants, 54 participants (36.0%) agreed that the CPF members were failing to prevent crime in the community. Secondly, 33 participants (22.0%) strongly agreed that the CPF was failing to prevent crime in the community. Thirdly, 37 participants (24.7%) were undecided. Consequently, while 15 participants (10.0%) disagreed with the statement, 11 participants (7.3%) strongly disagreed. The responses from the qualitative data seem to show that there is a strong correlation with the quantitative data. For example, although the participants differed in how they responded to the qualitative interviews, most of them agreed that the CPF was doing absolutely nothing (Participants MS, MM, and NB). While it was mentioned in one sub-suction that they did not have a CPF because the previous members got jobs (Participant MV), it was said in other places that the CPF did not exist (Participants MS, MM, NB, and NS).

Table 7.44: I must report criminal activities to police officials instead of working with CPF members

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	15	10.0	10.1	10.1
Agree	43	28.7	28.9	38.9
Neutral	59	39.3	39.6	78.5
Disagree	19	12.7	12.8	91.3
Strongly disagree	13	8.7	8.7	100.0
Total	**149**	**99.3**	**100.0**	**–**
Missing system	1	0.7	–	–
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**–**	**–**

As indicated in Table 7.44, the participants were asked to indicate their preferences based on their experience with whether they would report criminal activities to police officials instead of working with the CPF. The aim was to determine the institution or the body that they prefer to work with. While it is noticeable that the responses differed, 59 participants (39.6%) were not sure (neutral) whether they must report criminal activities to the police instead of working with the CPF. To this end, it is instructive to mention that 43 participants (28.9%) agreed that they must continue reporting criminal activities to police officials instead of working with the CPF. Another 15 participants (10.1%) strongly agreed with the statement. In contrast, 19 participants (12.8%)

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disagreed and 13 participants (8.7%) strongly disagreed with the statement. Although not many participants agreed that they must report to the police instead of the CPF, a few were still positive about the role of the police in the community. For example, Participant MN indicated that the conduct of the police is still promising. This was said against the background that the police responded when a matter has been reported to them.

Table 7.45: I trust that CPF members will assist police officials in apprehending offenders

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	15	10.0	10.0	10.0
Agree	53	35.3	35.3	45.3
Neutral	48	32.0	32.0	77.3
Disagree	19	12.7	12.7	90.0
Strongly disagree	15	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

Table 7.45 shows the perceptions of the participants with regard to the trust they have in the effectiveness of the partnership between the CPF and the police in arresting alleged criminals. The idea was to determine whether the participants were aware of the partnership that exists between the police and the CPF in fighting crime. In this instance, 53 participants (35.3%) agreed that they trusted that CPF members would assist the police in arresting alleged criminals, while 48 participants (32.0%) were entirely undecided on this issue. While 19 participants (12.7%) disagreed that the CPF would assist the police in arresting alleged criminals, there was an equal margin of 15 participants (10.0%) who either strongly agreed or strongly disagreed. Apparently, based on the lack of an overwhelming or outright majority, it is almost safe to say that the participants were not entirely sure as to how to respond to this question. The qualitative data showed that there was only one sub-section (Denge) out of all the sub-sections that were visited where the CPF was found to be doing something and working closely with the community. In this case, Participant MD argued: *"There is a good working relationship between traditional leadership, the CPF, the police, and the community."* Participant MD further argued: *"The CPF is important because it informs the police about everything that happens in the community."* In allocating a performance score, nine out ten was awarded to the CPF members.

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Table 7.46: I am convinced that when I work with CPF members, offenders will be punished for their offences

Options	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Strongly agree	21	14.0	14.0	14.0
Agree	42	28.0	28.0	42.0
Neutral	55	36.7	36.7	78.7
Disagree	18	12.0	12.0	90.7
Strongly disagree	14	9.3	9.3	100.0
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**

As shown in Table 7.46, the participants were asked about their level of confidence and trust when working with CPF members in an effort to arrest alleged criminals. Firstly, 55 participants (36.7%) were undecided as to whether alleged criminals would be punished for their offences when community members worked with the CPF. Secondly, 42 participants (28.0%) agreed that alleged criminals would be punished for their offences if communities continue to work with CPF members. Thirdly, 21 participants (14.0%) strongly agreed with the statement, while 18 participants (12.0%) disagreed. Only 14 participants (9.3%) strongly disagreed.

7.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the historical and political context of the study site. This was done with the aim of attempting to understand how the past may have (or may have not) shaped what is happening in the community at the moment. The chapter also expounded and clarified the correct terminology that should be used when one deals with traditional leadership in KwaZulu-Natal. The chapter provided the rationale behind the research instruments that were used to collect data, and explained the criteria that were used to select the participants. Finally, the chapter presented the empirical findings as they were, without making any value judgements or inferences.

The following chapter discusses the empirical findings at length by making inferences and indicating what the data mean in terms of the literature, theories, policies, and international practice.

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CHAPTER 8
AN AUDIT OF ETHEKWINI'S SOCIAL CAPITAL STATUS

All who accomplished great things have had a great aim, have fixed their gaze on a goal which was so high, one which sometimes seemed impossible – Orison Swett Marden

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters 2 to 6 of this study explicated the theoretical lens through which social capital, trust-building, and police-community relations are viewed. Chapter 7 presented a synthesised version of the quantitative and qualitative data collected through structured questionnaires, in-depth personal interviews, and focus group interviews without making any value judgements. As opposed to the previous chapters, the primary objective of this chapter is to holistically discuss social capital and trust-building between the police and communities through making value judgements (or logical evaluations or analogies) based on the comparisons between the existing literature, theoretical frameworks, international practices, a review of policies, and the research findings. The holistic discussion is done through an analysis of the emerging issues and understanding the implications of the data for the existing literature. The purpose of this chapter is fourfold. Firstly, the chapter starts by discussing the inferences that can be made based on the research findings and discusses emerging issues. Secondly, the chapter discusses how the CPFs were established, the role of CPFs, the stakeholders, the relationship with communities, and the challenges that face CPFs in communities. The chapter aims to understand the challenges that hinder or complicate the relationships or partnerships between CPFs, police officials, and communities. Thirdly, the chapter discusses the role of the police, the stakeholders, the relationship with the community, the challenges that face the police, and crime prevention strategies. The aim is to understand the nature of relationships or partnerships between the police and the community and the challenges associated with these partnerships. Finally, the chapter discusses the role of traditional leadership in the community. The aim is to understand how the traditional leaders works with CPFs, the police, and the community at large.

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8.2 INFERENCES AND DISCUSSION OF EMERGING ISSUES

While the previous chapter presented the data without making any value judgements, it is important to make value judgements here in order to understand what the data mean for this research. In analysing the emerging issues, this section uses the level of compliance and the level of deviation as yardsticks to measure the nature of social capital and the trust-building process between the police, CPFs, and the community. The level of compliance is characterised by good working relationships or partnerships and that the practical realties match the theory. The level of deviation is characterised by the challenges that complicate or stifle partnerships or good working relationships and that the practice differs from what the theory predicted.

8.2.1 Relationships among friends, neighbours, and relatives

This section is broken down into four hypothetical scenarios (A, B, C, and D) that were created and used to test and underscore the nature of social capital (bonding level of social capital) in the community.

8.2.1.1 Scenario A: A house burning down

The results obtained from the scenario of a house burning down conclusively suggest that community members help one another without any reservations when the need arises. The results illustrated this; for instance, 88% of the participants indicated that they would certainly help their friends when their house was burning down, while 89.9% of the participants said they would help their neighbour when their house was burning down. To this end, 88.6% of the participants indicated that they would definitely help their relatives when their house was burning down. Using this scenario, it is clear that over 88% of the participants were very keen to support their friends, neighbours, and relatives.

8.2.1.2 Scenario B: Support in the form of transport

The second scenario presented the results obtained in terms of support in the form of transport. Like Scenario A, Scenario B implied and attested that friends, neighbours, and relatives would support one another with transport. The only difference is that Scenario B showed that there were no fundamental differences in terms of who the

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participants would go to first when they were in need of transport. For instance, 37% of the participants said that they would first go to their relatives when in need of transport, while 34.2% said they would most probably go to their neighbours. According to this equation, only 28.8% of the participants said they would mostly likely approach their friends. This suggests that relatives (bloodline) would be the first point of call because they would most probably not charge them anything, while neighbours would be the second option because of close proximity. Friends are frequently the last option when the situation is urgent. Despite this, the results suggested that there is a very thin dividing line as to who they would approach first.

8.2.1.3 Scenario C: Giving support to friends, neighbours, and relatives

The third scenario asked the participants whether they would consider giving any form of support to their friends, neighbours, and relatives. In this scenario, 79.2% of the participants collectively held the same view that they would unhesitatingly lend support to their friends, neighbours, and relatives, regardless of the form. While 58.9% of the participants indicated that they would consider seeking support from people who were distant, it became clear that they were referring to people inside the community. In this case, it is worth pointing out that 70.3% of the participants indicated that they would seek and offer assistance inside the community.

8.2.1.4 Scenario D: Giving support in the form of food and visiting someone who is bedridden

In this scenario, the participants were asked whether they would consider supporting their friends, neighbours, and relatives by giving them food. A vast majority (92.7%) of the participants said that they would go to their neighbours, friends, and relatives if they were in need of small things like sugar or salt. This could mean that they would also provide assistance (sugar or salt) to their friends, relatives, and neighbours. These types of exchanges are in accordance with reciprocity. In this context, it is argued that the second common theme in the literature on social capital is reciprocity (Onyx & Bullen, 2000:24). Of importance in this regard are reciprocity, trust, and solidarity. Another hypothetical scenario (someone who is bedridden or sick) was used to understand how friends, neighbours, and relatives would react when they found out

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that someone was bedridden. Most participants (97.3%) indicated that they would definitely pay a visit to a bedridden friend, neighbour, or relative.

8.2.1.5 Inferences

Based on the results from the hypothetical scenarios (house burning down, support in the form of transport, support in the form of small food items, and someone who is bedridden) that were given in Section A of the quantitative data (relationships among neighbours, relatives, and friends), inferences or deductions could be made that the results collectively imply that social capital is very strong in the community. Strong bonds in the community not only constitute togetherness and social capital but they also constitute trust-building. Kingsley and Townsend (2006:526) point out that "support and connection facilitated by trust and reciprocity are the basis of social capital between individuals in communities". The results further suggest that the three dimensions of social capital (trust, solidarity, and reciprocity) were strong in the community, although they appeared to have differing levels. Kingsley and Townsend (2006:526) further postulate that supporting each other "lead[s] to material and social benefits such as social support and mobility". Singling out reciprocity, Onyx and Bullen (2000:24) add that "in a community where reciprocity is strong, people care for each other's interests". Social benefits not only include social support but also information sharing and collective responsibility, which were strong in the community. While helping one another, community members get to share information from one another's personal experiences. The level of compliance is conclusively intact at the bonding level of social capital.

8.2.2 Frequency of participation and interaction with neighbours and friends

In accordance with the deductions made above, this section further attests that social capital is very strong in the community. Strong social capital was mainly attributed to the fact that the community was considered to be well organised. In this section, the participants were asked whether they had been visited by their neighbours, friends, or relatives. Firstly, 83% of the participants confirmed that they had been visited by their neighbours, while 84.0% agreed that they had been visited by their friends in the last few days. In totality, the data implied that the participants habitually visited each other to share their experiences. The participants were also asked whether they had visited

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their friends or neighbours in the last few days. Most participants (84.7%) agreed that they had visited their neighbours and friends in the last few days. This implies that the participants visited their friends and neighbours habitually, and that the relationship among them was strong.

8.2.2.1 Inferences

Glover (2004:145) asserts that social capital is a collective asset that grants members social "credits" that can be used as capital to "facilitate purposive actions". Extrapolating from the analysis of the data, it can be deduced that the participants were visited often by their friends and neighbours, and that the participants also visited their neighbours and friends often. The frequency of visiting each other partly confirms Glover's (2004:145) analysis that social capital grants members social "credits". Visiting each other also builds trust. The frequency of visits suggests that the participants trusted one another a great deal. The level of compliance was also intact.

8.2.3 Trust, solidarity, and reciprocity

Closely related scenarios (giving food to a family that did not have food, going to attend a job interview and leaving the child with your neighbour, looking after the neighbours' child while he/she is gone, and doing voluntary work in the community) were created and used to discern and evaluate the level of trust, solidarity, and reciprocity in the community. To this end, most participants were willing to contribute, share, and assist where necessary. Firstly, the participants indicated that they would give support in the form of food to any family that was in need. In this case, the data showed that 62.4% of the participants indicated that they knew that their neighbours assisted a family with food. Secondly, 86.7% of the participants indicated that they would leave their children with the neighbours if they had to go for a job interview. To this end, these findings are in line with Glover's (2004:145) argument that to strengthen social networks, a group of neighbours would informally keep an eye on each other's homes. Thirdly, 92.0% of the participants indicated that they would look after their neighbour's children without expecting any form of payment in return. This is consistent with Kingsley and Townsend's (2006:526) argument that supporting one another leads to social benefits. Finally, 57% of the participants indicated that they could do voluntary work in the community without getting paid. In this case Glover (2004:145) provides a classic

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example of friends helping a member to move a piece of heavy furniture without expecting any form of payment.

The other scenarios (contributing to the repatriation fees of the body of a community member who died in a distant place, contributing to the repatriation fees of the body of a stranger, and visiting the family of the deceased) were used to further analyse and evaluate the level of social capital in the community (especially solidarity, trust, and reciprocity). Using these hypothetical scenarios, it became clear that most participants were very positive and keen to contribute and assist wherever they could. Firstly, 71% of the participants agreed that they would certainly contribute to the repatriation fees of the body of a community member who died in a distant place. Secondly, 57% of the participants agreed that they would contribute to the repatriation fees of the body of a stranger who died in a distant place. While the number is slightly lower relatively speaking, it shows that more than half of the community was willing to assist strangers. Finally, most participants (96.6%) indicated that they would visit the family of the deceased to find out what happened. This is not surprising, according to Onyx and Bullen (2000:24), who point out that "[t]he individual provides a service to others, or acts for the benefit of others at a personal cost, but in the general expectation that this kindness will be returned at some undefined time in the future in case of need."

8.2.3.1 Inferences

Taking the first two scenarios (leaving your child while going to a job interview, and looking after the child of your neighbour) into account, deductions could be made that there was a high level of trust, reciprocity, and solidarity in the community. In the case of doing voluntary work, an example of building a house was given. For instance, when a neighbour is building a house, other neighbours are expected to drop by and assist wherever they could so that in future he/she would not hesitate to help them or reciprocate. In other words, helping someone without expecting to be paid was mentioned as a common practice in the community. Despite varying levels, it was clear that the three dimensions (trust, reciprocity, and solidarity) of social capital were relatively strong in the community. Preece (2002:37) indicates that social capital is a resource that helps sustain communities.

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Taking the last three sets of scenarios (contributing to the repatriation fees of the body of a community member who died in a distant place, contributing to the repatriation fees of the body of a stranger who died in a distant place, and visiting the family of the deceased) into account, deductions could be made that the community helps one another without discriminating on the basis of origin. Contributions to the repatriation of bodies (be it a stranger or community member) imply that there is a strong element of Ubuntu and solidarity in the community. This also implies that social capital not only has social benefits but economic benefits as well. In this case, economic benefits are derived from the contributions that are made or could be made. Visiting a family whose member had just died is also a sign of solidarity and togetherness. There is also a high level of compliance here. While social capital appears to be strong at the level of friends, neighbours, and relatives, it is essential to know whether it exists at the level of community structures (the CPF and community) or institutions (the police and community) or not.

8.3 PROCEDURE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CPFs

According to Participants C and A, there is a standard procedure that is traditionally used to elect (or appoint) members who serve in the CPF structure. Firstly, the procedure prescribes that it must be someone who will serve as a volunteer. Secondly, it should be volunteers who are not going to be paid (but who are willing to work for the community) and who are chosen. The information received pointed out that the procedure that is followed is as follows:

> *"We go to the community, and we ask them to come together; then we explain to the community as to what is the role of the CPF; and how it operates; and how they [as the community] are expected to work together with it [CPF]"* (Participant A).

It is particularly intriguing (according to the participants) to note that in establishing the CPF, there must be no political interference. To this end, the CPF was defined as an independent, apolitical, and non-partisan body. Essentially, what emerged as a shared or common understanding among the participants was that the CPF should be composed of people who could be trusted by the community – people who are not involved in criminal activities and people who are very keen to see their communities safe (Participant A).

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A previous chairperson of the CPF who is currently in local government indicated the following:

> *"Yes, I know how the CPF is formed. I have been chairperson for over seven years. It is formed through following the law for one, it is done at a local police station, cluster level, or provincial level, but when forming a CPF, one must make sure that everybody is represented, traditional leadership, starting with the Chief, councillors, and must explain to them that this is a CPF and that you participate voluntarily, and that it must be a person who likes the community, must like to serve"* (Participant LG).

8.4 THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE CPF

Structurally, there is one main CPF that serves as the umbrella body in the community. It works in tandem with the Msunduzi Police Station (the local police station). The umbrella body consists of members from five different communities (or under five different chieftaincies/clans). In its composition, there are members from KwaXimba, KwaNyavu, KwaMkhizwane, KwaSwayimane, and KwaMaphumulo. In addition to the main CPF (or umbrella body), there are also sub-forums that serve as supporting structures. Sub-forums are specifically located in different communities. For example, there is one in Sansikane under the KwaNyavu chieftaincy, and there is one at KwaMkhizwane. The common denominator of these sub-forums is that they are all new. They were established at the end of 2016 and 2017 and the beginning of 2018. Therefore, thus far, they have not done anything substantive and noteworthy.

While it is worth noting that a certain proportion of the participants (traditional leaders in particular) were oblivious of how the CPF is configured or constituted (Participants SN, MN, and SS), eight traditional leaders who participated in the study indicated that the CPF's central feature is that it must be representative of all the structures that exist in the community, and must be typically representative of all the sub-sections that are found in the community (Participants MS, MM, and MD). They also pointed out that the CPF could only be elected by the community if it had made the necessary arrangements that it represents the youth and seeks to ensure gender parity (Participant MD). It is a legal body that is appointed in accordance with legal regulations (Participant LG). The participants (especially CPF members) indicated that there is a constitution that governs the conduct of the members (Participant A).

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In terms of composition, it was indicated:

> *"The CPF could be composed of people with different professions, including the teachers, nurses, or Chiefs. This is done so that when the CPF starts to operate, you can always go back and account [must be integrated]. It is part of Sukuma Sakhe but in the form of a CPF. It's like a governing body in the school"* (Participant LG).

There were also some misunderstandings. For instance, a handful of participants (especially community leaders during interviews) contradicted one another. For example, Participant NT was of the view that in order to be considered as a member of the CPF, one needed to play a critical or dominant role in local politics. From this point of view, joining or becoming a member of the CPF was intricately associated with political formations.

8.5 THE ROLE OF CPFs IN THE COMMUNITY

The overwhelming majority of the participants maintained that the primary role of the CPF is to strengthen the relationship or partnership between the police and the community, and to strengthen safety and security by following the guidelines prescribed by the police who serve the community. Shedding light on the role of CPFs, Malherbe (2013:1) contends that, "in partnership with the SAPS and other stakeholders, the role of the CPF is to provide a supportive initiative to be the eyes, ears, and voice of SAPS with the aim of crime prevention". The following sets of roles mentioned by the participants were to some extent in line with Malherbe's (2013) argument:

- The CPF gathers information on what is happening in the community;
- The CPF in turn shares the information relating to crime with the police (Participant A);
- The CPF communicates and works in concert with the police so that the gap that used to exist between the police and communities is drastically reduced;
- The CPF educates the community on crime prevention and management;
- It is an existing legal body within a community that proactively interacts with the police about issues relating to crime;
- The CPF provides the community with knowledge;
- The community informs the CPF about challenges; and
- The community shares information with CPF members (Participant C).

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In terms of a crime prevention strategy, the CPF was believed to be playing different but supportive roles in the community. The participants meticulously dissected and expounded on the crime prevention strategies that are used by the CPF in the community. These include proactive and reactive strategies. The proactive strategies (some, if not all) are traditionally in the form of organising and conducting awareness campaigns in the community (Participant A). Awareness campaigns are conducted with the sole purpose of educating people about crime and its impact on the safety and social wellbeing of the community (Participant A). On the contrary, reactive strategies are traditionally employed once crime has occurred. According to Participant A:

> *"Once the crime has been committed in this community, we phone the police and report it. We phone the station commander directly in case no one answers the phone. In the event that the station commander is not there, we phone the CPF coordinator, then we report the crime. We ask the police to rush to the crime scene, and we alert them that we are also waiting in the crime scene; usually we encourage them to rush to the crime scene."*

8.5.1 The relationship with stakeholders

Inside the community, the main stakeholders of the CPF were mostly the police, traditional (and political) leaders, and the community itself. It is imperative to emphasise that trust is critical to ensuring an effective relationship between the CPF and its stakeholders. To this end, scholars (Cancino, 2005:291; Esau, 2008:357) accentuate that trust is critical for building on existing or creating new human and institutional relationships or understanding and promoting collective action. Thus, starting with the relationship between the police and the CPF, the participants stated categorically that the relationship is currently fragile and on the verge of collapse. In most cases, this is typified by the fact that when CPF members report cases to the local police station, they are frequently not treated with care and respect. Instead, the police are rather extremely dismissive, uncooperative, and unfriendly towards CPF members. According to Marks *et al*. (2009:146), the unfriendly approach of the police is not only a challenge in South Africa but all over the world. Marks *et al*. (2009:146) maintain that "police throughout the world do speak of and generally advocate partnerships, but such talk is not the result of a coherent state governance project. Nor is it indicative of a state in retreat".

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In accordance with the remarks made by Marks *et al*. (2009:146), the participants (CPF members in particular) argued that the police did not take them seriously when they reported crime (Participants A and B). From the point of view of CPF members, the attitude of the police was found to be upsetting, spiteful, and demeaning. To this end, Participant A accentuated the following:

> *"If you try to explain what happened; they [the police] ridicule you; and you become a joke; they start jeering; they make a mockery of what you are telling them; as a result, we [CPF members] even find it difficult to go to the police station."*

This practice negates Marks' (2003:235) proposition that post-apartheid policing needs to be tolerant. The power struggle between the police officials and community representatives often amounts to tension (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001:264). Tensions arise between the CPF and police officials in the sense that the police do not want to be told what to do. For instance, a CPF member indicated that *"[i]f we ask for something or report something, nothing gets done; rather it becomes so quiet. We don't get answers"* (Participant B). Participant B further said, *"They don't really care about us; they hate us honestly; they use funny names when they speak to us."* Marks (2003:235-236) cautions that the attitude, structure, and the behaviour of the police need to change in order to ensure transformation. To augment the views of the CPF members, the wretched attitude of the police officials towards the community members also infuriated and incensed Participant LG:

> *"[T]here is this word that they [the police] use to refer to people who are not police officers if they report a crime; civilian; they say I won't be told by a civilian, what does he/she knows; exactly that's the word … they forget that it's about service delivery."*

The mentality and the mindset of the police still reflect apartheid policing, which was illegitimate and highly militarised (Rakgoadi, 1995:1). Marks and Flemming (2004:785) provide reasons why it is difficult for the police to let go of "established practices and symbolic representations of 'discipline'". While community policing is anchored on a participatory approach, the resistance by the police hinders the operationalisation of the idea. To this end, Participant LG aptly purported that *"[t]he SAPS must not rush to train the community only, police services must also train the police themselves because the police have not yet gone past the police force mentality"*. Police officials must move away from police force to police service. Marks and Wood (2010:312)

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highlight that “as of April 2010, the ‘police service’ has been replaced by the ‘police force’”. The reversal (or re-militarisation of the police) came after the announcement of the “shoot to kill” strategy. Due in part to this announcement, the police reverted back to “police force”.

Despite the unhealthy relationship with the police, the CPF appeared to have a healthy relationship with the KwaDenge traditional leadership. Participant MD mentioned that the community worked together with the CPF to deal with challenges. Consistent with Davis *et al*.’s (2003:286-287) findings, the Denge case showed that the CPF works well (despite challenges) when there is social cohesion and strong networks of community organisations. The police, the CPF, and community organisations work in concert with one another. The CPF members were comparatively more visible because they were involved in the traditional council in the KwaDenge sub-section. There was no positive relationship in other sub-sections that were visited by the researcher.

Outside the community, the CPF collaborated with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Safety and Liaison. It was indicated that the department was very supportive (Participant B). The support is in terms of the infrastructure (especially physical buildings) where the CPF organises its activities. The physical buildings include schools, community halls, and the police station.

8.6 CHALLENGES FACING CPFs: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL

Although community policing is perceived as the panacea for challenges that plague the police (Jagwanth, 1994:164), the CPF platform is currently marred by a plethora of challenges in the community. This reality is quite surprising given the fact that South Africa adopted community policing and crime prevention with alacrity (Steinberg, 2011:350). Yet the enormity of the findings (mostly obtained through qualitative interviews) suggests that there are internal and external challenges that variously affect CPFs. The challenges (internal and external) are to some extent in accordance with the challenges identified by Liebermann and Coulson (2004:125) in their study. Liebermann and Coulson (2004:125) argue that “[c]ommunity policing remains more a talked-about concept than a practice actually taking place in South Africa today”. It was thus not surprising that most participants (28.9% strongly agreed and 28.9%

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agreed) fervently believed that the CPF was not doing a good job in the community. Davis *et al*. (2003:285) posit that there would always be challenges in implementing community policing because "community policing was developed in Western democracies under quite different conditions than exist in the developing world".

8.6.1 Internal challenges

Internally, various challenges hindered or stifled the performance of CPFs in the community. The identified internal challenges included mainly a lack of resources. Groenewald and Peake (2004:10) contend that in order for community-based policing to work, "the program needs to be realistic and feasible with resources to match". In sync with Groenewald and Peake's (2004:10) finding, the CPF was able to carry out its functions through improvising since the members consistently maintained that there were no adequate resources to fulfil the CPF's mandate in the community. The shortage of resources included the non-availability of office space, lack of funding, and lack of dedicated personnel. These findings are in line with the scholarly argument that, despite successful introduction of community policing in Uganda, the shortage of resources for all law enforcement agencies became a serious problem (Davis *et al.*, 2003:295). Without resources like an office, it is impossible to carry out functions. According to CPF members, an office is needed to keep records (minutes of meetings or hold meetings) or store information. Apart from office space, the need for training and development was deemed pre-eminent and paramount for CPF members. Participant B asserted: *"We, CPF members, need a workshop so that we could learn to enhance communication or build relationships. We need this workshop seriously. This workshop should be about our working relationship with the police."*

The other fundamental challenge that stood out was the clandestine (or misguided) succession plan that is used internally when a member leaves the CPF. Participant MS argued *"… when one member leaves [CPF], he/she invites his/her friends to fill the vacancy"*; thus playing the role of gatekeeper. As a result, the members were believed to be choosing and replacing each other based on friendship and trust. In this context, Davis *et al.* (2003:295) also share a similar view that Uganda followed flawed procedures when it adopted community policing. For example, non-commissioned officers who had undergone political training were chosen. In reality, this adversely affected the delicacy of continuity, and subsequently the primary function of the CPF.

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Finally, there was also a lack of training and development for CPF members – particularly the coordinators. This finding is somewhat contrary to the literature, which indicates that community policing requires a coordinated partnership approach to solving problems related to crime (Liebermann & Coulson, 2004:125). Although the coordinators serve as the anchor or backbone of the CPF, a serious concern was raised that they did not possess the requisite skills and knowledge (Participant A). It was therefore suggested that they should attend workshops and courses in order to fully understand how the CPF operates. However, even if there is some form of training, Liebermann and Coulson (2004:125) note that although community policing advocates for people's participation, it is not clear how it should be done.

8.6.2 External challenges

In light of the challenges, Gordon (2001:128) urges South Africa to be extremely circumspect as far as the development of CPFs is concerned. To this end, Gordon (2001:128) argues that CPFs in South Africa need to be understood in the context of the apartheid legacy of the police. It is against this backdrop that, externally, there were challenges that hindered the CPFs in the community. The challenges mainly included a lack of support from the community, stigmatisation, parents siding with the children when the children are accused of crime, and political interference.

8.6.2.1 Lack of support from the community

It was argued that support normally comes in the form of partnerships. Kruger *et al.* (2016:21) caution that the nature of partnerships and their role in preventing crime and violence are often misunderstood. The CPF members argued that, in the main, the lack of support was caused by the fact that the idea of the CPF has not yet adequately been imbued in the community. As a result, there has been an impromptu or knee-jerk reaction to the idea. Despite the fact that the CPF was not known by the community (Participant MS), the literature accentuates that residents are required to play an important role because they know their crime problems and localities better than outsiders (Manaliyo, 2016:271). Yet, despite Manaliyo's (2016) emphasis on the pre-eminent role that affected communities play in crime prevention, it emerged from the community that the term "CPF" was often seen as obnoxious, abominable, loathsome, offensive, and objectionable (Participant C). The general feeling in this regard was that

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the term “CPF” (in its entirety) is closely associated with wrongs and it polarises the community. To this end, most of the CPF participants indicated that (owing in part to the negative attitude towards the CPF idea) the community was not willing to help them in carrying out CPF functions. This poses a serious threat to crime prevention as it is anchored in community participation. In this regard, Cernea (in Emmett, 2000:502) cautions that it would be unfair to put the blame squarely on the community because community participation is done in an *ad hoc* manner and is unsystematic. Despite Cernea’s line of argument, Manaliyo (2016:269) insists that “[c]ommunity participation in crime prevention has been embraced by anti-crime organisations as a panacea for crime problems”. This is undergirded by a notion that “traditional law enforcement cannot fight crime effectively without support from local communities who know their areas” (Liebermann & Coulson in Manaliyo, 2016:270). As such, lack of support from the community renders the CPF entirely passive and meaningless. In this context, Participant B fiercely and unhesitatingly argued the following:

> *“I will not tell lies, I’m not the person who likes to tell lies, or who likes to sugar-coat or romanticise things; the community is not reporting to us at all; they’re not sharing any information with us partly because they’re not well-versed with what the CPF stands for. We gather the information on our own, especially if you see something going wrong, they [the community] don’t tell you, no one bothers to tell you.”*

Participant SN concurred: *“We, as the community, have the tendency to hide certain things [conceal information] related to crime, especially how it happens, because we are afraid of being detested or targeted or viewed as sell-outs.”*

8.6.2.2 Stigma of being called an informer

The participants (CPF members) argued that it was very rare to see the community coming to them. The reason put forward by most of the CPF participants was twofold. Firstly, most of the community members did not report crime because they feared being considered informers (Participant C). Being an informer is considered a stigma that is really difficult to get rid of. Once one is found to be an informer, one is often inundated with death threats or ends up being killed. To clarify this point further, Participant NS (a traditional leader) purported: *“We don’t have a CPF here. We tried to launch it but people never showed up. They were afraid to be seen as informers.”* This also appeared as the issue that did not only affect the role and character of the

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CPF, but also complicated and undermined the role of policing in the area. Secondly, the CPF participants also mentioned that being called a sell-out was very discouraging and disconcerting (Participants A, B, and C).

8.6.2.3 Siding with children

The enormity of the participants, mainly from the traditional leadership side (Participants SN, MS, and SS), maintained that most parents sided with their children when the children were accused of (or alleged of) having committed a crime; claiming that their children were innocent. As shown through the lens of literature, siding with children weakens informal social controls in the community. According to Emmett (2001:4), "the role of informal social controls becomes problematic when institutions like the family and community break down, and are no longer able to exert pressures necessary to uphold the law". In defence of their children, the parents would say that their children are being "denigrated" or "vilified" (Participants SN, MN, and MS). It is worth noting that the broken window theory (see Chapter 3) and social disorganisation theory (see Chapter 2) shed some light in terms of providing more clarification as to why crime continues to be committed. The first theory argues that if the window is broken (in this case, parents siding with children), it is normally easy to commit more crimes in that community. The second theory argues that when the informal social controls are weak, it is easy for a crime to be committed.

8.6.2.4 Political interference

Unabated political interference was also ruining, wrecking, or dismantling the role of CPFs in the community. Although covert and surreptitious in character, the manifestation of political interference occurred in different ways. Although the CPF tried to work in concert with the community, the political formations (or organisations) tended to act as gatekeepers (instead of collaborators or facilitators) in terms of who is elected to the CPF and who is removed (Participant MM). To bear testimony in this regard, the former and the current chairperson were and are the leaders of political parties. To this end, the literature confirms unequivocally that CPFs are politically aligned (Community Police Forum, n.d.:6). Not surprisingly, Participant C explicated: *"You would find that one person within the structure of the CPF would be part of a certain grouping, and others would be part of the other grouping."* The general

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consensus reached by a large proportion of participants was that, because there were deeply entrenched political groupings/camps or factions among political organisations, there was bound to be hostility, instability, and disunity in the community (Participants MM and MV). The challenges identified here confirm the findings of Altbeker's (in Meyer & Van Graan, 2011:133) study that community policing is "too all-embracing and unreliable for countries struggling with basic governance issues". South Africa, in its entirety, not only the community where the study was conducted, is facing serious governance issues, especially in all the spheres of government. The Community Police Forum (n.d.:6) also confirmed that internal infighting weakens the CPF. As a result, most of the participants purported that different factions bring their differences to the CPF platform; then, inadvertently, the CPF collapses, loses its primary focus, and/or become susceptible to political differences. To this end, Participant C succinctly explicated:

> *"The criteria or procedure that was followed in electing that CPF [referring particularly to the umbrella body] was not transparent enough; back then most of the decisions that were taken were influenced by what was happening in politics; they prioritised political affiliation; it was politicised; it started off running smoothly, but because there was political meddling/interference, there was an infighting, and the whole thing collapsed."*

Sherman and Kane (in Manaliyo, 2016:273) argue that the community's willingness to participate in crime prevention is influenced primarily by how they perceive the local police and other government institutions in the community. As a consequence, Manaliyo (2016:273) maintains that poor relationships with the police and lack of trust in the police affect the community's decision to participate in crime prevention. To this end, the above reasons provided by the community suggest that the CPF is dysfunctional, feeble, or malfunctioning and the community does not want to associate itself with the platform. To demystify the dysfunctionality of the CPF, Participant C argued that since 2016 the umbrella body of the CPF has met only once or twice. Participant C further argues that *"It is not functional. Let me tell you, the main problem is how it was elected"*. The abovementioned challenges affect the trust and confidence that the community members have in the CPF. For example, the quantitative data showed that most participants (30.7% agreed and 27.3% strongly agreed) were starting to lose confidence in the CPF members. Based on the pragmatic considerations, social capital (in particular, partnerships) is not strong, and there is a high level of deviation.

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8.6.3 The successes and failures of CPFs

8.6.3.1 Successes

It is worth noting that CPFs are seen as viable tools for effective crime prevention in the region (Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland) (Gumedze, 2015:14). Denney (2016:8) maintains that "[c]ommunity policing forums serve as platforms for positive engagement". Yet, while community policing has become a common practice in the neighbouring countries (out of 11 sub-sections that were included in the study), only one sub-section confirmed unequivocally that the CPF was functioning. Participant MD indicated that there was a good working relationship between the CPF, the police, and the community in the Denge sub-section. This finding is consistent with Meyer and Van Graan's (2011:132) scholarly argument, which contends that the concept of community policing is introduced more successfully in certain communities than in others. Bruce (2011:6) posits that CPFs are more effective in middle-class communities, than in poorer communities precisely because members tend to be more educated. Participant MD indicated that, as a collective, *"If a person breaks in, we catch that person and call the police to arrest him or her"*. It was confirmed that the CPF informs the police about everything that happens in the community. For instance, there were two classic examples that epitomised success that stood out in the community. Firstly, the CPF helped the community to catch a boy who burned down a house. The community suspected that the boy was using drugs or smoking *whoonga* (a locally made drug – made of steel wool, Rattex, and other dangerous substances). Secondly, there were boys who killed a person in the community. The boys hid and could not be found. Other community members thought that they had run away. In the end, mainly through the help of the CPF, *"The community together with the police searched for them. They were found, and they got arrested"* (Participant MD).

8.6.3.2 Failures

Where there is a lack of a coordinated and coherent implementation plan, failures become a reality. Gordon (2001:121) contends that although there is a move towards community policing in South Africa, the consolidation of a new democracy poses potentially conflicting demands that may defeat efforts. Not surprisingly, except the abovementioned unique sub-section (Denge), the CPF was not effective in other sub-

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sections due to a myriad of reasons. The quantitative data showed that over half of participants (36.0% agreed and 22.0% strongly agreed) shared a similar sentiment that the CPF was failing to prevent crime. The failure was mainly due to the condition of the CPF and its inadaptability to the environment in which it was implemented. The realities on the ground proved that the CPFs were either disbanded or in the process of collapsing, as in Skhelekehleni, where the previous CPF was disbanded; Mvini, where the previous CPF members got jobs; Sithumba, where the previous CPF was effective; unheard of, as in Siweni; clumsily or vaguely understood or arbitrarily configured, as in Ntukusweni; or non-existent, as in Bhobhonono, Msunduzi, Nkandla, and Skhelekehleni (Participants NS, MN, MV, MM, and NB). In Skhelekehleni, the community leaders tried in vain to launch a new CPF branch, but the community never showed up for the meeting (Participant NS). To shed more light in terms of the CPF being an entity that is unheard of, Participant MS pointed out the following:

> *"Yes, we do have the CPF, but I can assure you that the community is oblivious of what they are doing. The community is not privy to what they are doing, it is only us who are privy to that information merely by virtue of being in leadership."*

The abovementioned failures or challenges are in line with Mengistu, Pindur and Leibold's (2000:16) argument that no matter what policing model is implemented, "a new model incorporating community policing will be difficult to implement in the South African context". Furthermore, the failures are also consistent with the argument that was advanced by Meyer and Van Graan (2011:132) that "there is no one-size-fits-all solution, therefore we need to allow for a certain degree of adaptability and diversity". Thus, for CPFs to be effective, they need to constantly adapt to changing environments.

8.7 THE ROLE OF POLICE OFFICIALS IN THE COMMUNITY

In the discussion with the police officials, it emerged that they were quite comfortable and acquainted with the roles that they were supposed to play in ensuring safety in the community. The police officials indicated that they were, by law, required to maintain law and order in the community. They fulfil this mandate by arresting perpetrators or alleged criminals. In achieving their goals, they stated that they had to work in tandem with the community and the CPF.

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8.7.1 The police's relationship with stakeholders (the community and the CPF)

Partly as a precursor to understanding the relationship between the police and the community, Robinson (2003:656-657) cautions: "If we do not know the distribution of social capital among police officers, and the barriers preventing and resources promoting its utilisation, then our methods of encouraging strong police-community partnerships will remain limited."

From the police's point of view, the relationship between the police and the community is neither good nor bad, and at times mediocre. For instance, it emerged through discussions with police officials that some sections or sub-sections of the community were seriously concerned about what the police are doing, while other sections or sub-sections were totally unconcerned. Close scrutiny of community responses suggested that they were either interested or uninterested in what the police are doing or involved or uninvolved in what the police are doing. Based on this, community responses varied significantly. This uncertainty was attributed to a lack of institutional capacity on the side of the police. Pelser (1999:7) argues that there are serious doubts as to whether the police are really able to engage in the "innovative practices" required to "revitalise" or "empower" communities. The findings show that just over 50% of the participants disagreed (38.9% disagreed and 13.4% disagreed strongly) that the police were working well with the community. In this regard, Participant 1 explicated the reasons why the relationship was constantly changing and unpredictable:

> *"It differs, as police officials, we work with people who have been hurt emotionally; anytime of the day so the reception differs because sometimes you would go to a person who have lost their loved one; so they act in a unique way because his/her mannerism is not functioning properly."*

At a practical level, the relationship between the police and the community frequently reaches the point of tension when the police arrive late at the crime scene or do not show up at all. Yet, despite the said differing views, Ikuteyijo (2008:286) is of the view that the distrust and suspicion that characterise the public's perception of the police are crucial in terms of the effectiveness and efficiency of the police in combating or preventing crime. Frequently, the ability (or inability) to respond instantaneously to a reported crime invites different reactions from the community; and it inevitably negatively affects the police-community relationship. In the South African context, it is

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difficult for communities to trust the police because apartheid created a climate of fear and distrust (Rock in Emmett, 2001:5). Despite these factors, Participant 1 summarised the relationship between the police and the community as mostly indifferent, fragile, and speculative at times: *"I would say communication/relationship comes in two ways: sometimes it's good, sometimes it's bad, but most of the time it's good."* To this end, Participant 2 echoed: *"We do occasionally work well with the community."* Emmett (2000:501) purports that, generally, the practice of community participation in South Africa is fraught with conceptual and practical challenges. It is therefore difficult to meaningfully particularise the relationship between the police and community. In this regard, Minnaar (2010:189) lends credence that the antagonistic relationship between the police and black communities in particular still manifests in terms of what happened during the apartheid era. Lack of trust in the police is attributed to the repressive and authoritarian style of the SAPS (Minnaar, 2010:189).

The other complicating factor relates to the fact that the community does not want to lend a helping hand to the police even in situations where they saw, recognised, or knew the perpetrator/suspect or someone who committed a crime. According to Cernea (in Emmett, 2000:502), it is common that in certain situations the community may not understand what is expected of it because "community participation does not have a clear methodology, it lacks clear goals and objectives". As a consequence, in light of the uncooperative behaviour from the community, crucial and valid evidence vanishes. Participant 1 pointed out that:

> *"Most of the people do report crime; and in doing so, they don't get enough assistance in terms of witness[es], even if they saw crime taking place. You won't see them coming forth to testify; they don't want to be seen; they're scared of many things: first, they're scared of being called informers; second, here it's a rural area, we all know that rural areas are very remote and most of the time they're not well taken care of; people fear for their lives; because they know that as part of testifying, one will have to go to court; going to court … they'll be seen."*

For a partnership to remain intact and coherent, Kruger *et al*. (2016:22) recommend that there must be regular interactions with the community, setting up structures to engage local people, balancing the competing interests of different groups, and dealing with groups who may feel excluded. Yet, despite the above recommendations, the police officers confessed that they were unable to allay the fears of the community members who reported crimes – particularly the whistle-blowers. The police did not

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have adequate resources to protect the identity of whistle-blowers. For instance, in order for a police officer to take a whistle-blower seriously in terms of giving protection, there are (pre)conditions that must be met to warrant protection: firstly, there must be a real threat to the whistle-blower; secondly, the case must be highly sensitive; and thirdly, only if the matter has been reported to a court of law will the whistle-blower get protection (Participant 1). In this context, this is not peculiar to South Africa, as Ikuteyijo (2008:286) concedes that in Nigeria the communication gap between the police and the community is too wide. As a result, the community members are "often reluctant to report crimes to the police, or stand as witnesses in courts, as they believe that the police will not protect them in the event of any reprisal from the criminals or their cohorts" (Ikuteyijo, 2008:286).

As Ikuteyijo's (2008) research indicates, the police officers agreed that it was impossible to protect whistle-blowers. Participant 1 argued that *"To be honest with you, we are not protecting them [whistle-blowers] at all"*. Participant 1 further maintained that in cases where whistle-blowers do get protection, it is only done circumstantially and fortuitously. Furthermore, the community frequently desists from reporting crime because they do not believe that the concept of anonymity will apply when they report a matter to the police (Ikuteyijo, 2008:286). As a consequence, extrapolating from this analysis of partnership, it is clear that whistle-blowers often act fearfully and diffidently in order to protect themselves, or desist completely from providing any information.

Another hindrance on the side of the police is that crucial evidence is often lost or the case becomes weak (or never stands in court), especially rape cases because they often happen at night between two people. It emerged that the community (or specifically the family concerned) often complicates or prolongs the case by protecting the alleged person who committed a crime. Emmett (2000:501) clarifies that at times the community may not want to assist because when the community participates in something, they would typically expect to get something in return. Indeed, as shown through the experiences of the participants, protecting the suspect is usually done willingly or unwillingly. For instance, the police officials indicated that when a victim opens a case, and usually after a thorough investigation has been concluded, it would appear that the family (mother, father, uncle) settled (or deliberated on) the matter, and agreed unanimously among themselves that the matter should not have been

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reported to the police because the suspect was the breadwinner or head of the family. On rare occasions, it would also appear that the matter (rape) was settled by the traditional leader, who imposed a fine (usually a goat or a cow) (Participant 1). Participant 1 went on to say: *"This really puzzles or hurts us deeply because we know that such cases are criminal matters."* The police officers attributed this misunderstanding to the cultural or religious beliefs that are followed by the community.

There is also a huge misunderstanding that exists and complicates the relationship between the police and the community. The police officials were of the view that the community barely (or vaguely) understands the extent and limitations of the police's powers, the procedures that are followed when conducting day-to-day operations, and how the police operate in general. This, according to the participants, becomes clear when a suspect is released on bail by the court of law. To this end, Participant 1 indicated that there is a misunderstanding that prevails in the community:

> *"… they don't really understand how the police operates; maybe you'll find that how we do our operations; they don't understand that we're only gathering evidence; if we have to arrest, we arrest; we take the suspect to the court of law; we're not necessarily passing any judgement on whether he/she is guilty or not; whereas they think that it is our duty to pass a judgement [or impose a sentence] on the suspect[s]; the next thing when they [suspects] get to court, the court will have its own procedures that it must follow relating to bail applications."*

Inevitably, under these circumstances, when a person (in this case, a suspect) applied for and was successfully granted bail, the community unreasonably apportioned the blame on the police. Esau (2008:357) asserts that this is seen as "the inability of government to deliver on its mandate and act in the interest of the society". While this may be seen as a misguided (or misconstrued) practice, it contributes to distrust between the government (police officials) and society (Esau, 2008:357). As such, this negatively affects the relationship between the police and the community.

Despite being marred by challenges, the relationship between the community and the police sometimes yields positive results. One particular incident that stood out was when the police, in concert with the community, recovered stolen goods. Participant 2 indicated that they were able to recover a large amount of money and drugs from a house. The police received the tip-off information from the community.

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8.8 CHALLENGES THAT FACE POLICE OFFICIALS: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL

Regardless of the country in which police officials are lawfully tasked, the role of the police is to maintain law and order in society and to help with the implementation of government policies (Ikuteyijo, 2008:285). Yet in rendering their service, police officials are held back by a number of challenges. Just over 50% of the participants disagreed (34.7% disagreed and 19.3% disagreed strongly) that the police officials were doing a good job in the community.

8.8.1 Internal challenges

Scharf (1989:206) acknowledges that despite several attempts aimed at improving policing, policing in South Africa is marred by fundamental challenges. There are, however, self-created or self-imposed challenges owing partly to the wrong mentality and behaviour of the police. For example, Marks *et al*. (2009:149) are of the view that the "police cling to the idea of a policing monopoly and prove reluctant to exhaust possibilities for sharing the load of creating safety". As a consequence, the mentality of wanting total control over safety-related matters leads to a myriad of internal challenges. The community members indicated that they were losing confidence in the police officials' abilities (42.7% agreed and 24.7% strongly agreed). Essentially, some of the internal challenges are imposed by systemic collapse, while others are self-imposed:

- The challenges that are attributed to systemic collapse or failure include lack of resources and poor staffing. An SAPS officer in Dixon's (2000:76) research acknowledged that lack of resources was a serious challenge. Participant 5 pointed out that some of the plans or strategies are merely achievable in theory but not in practice due to a lack of resources. The reasons given were that the police stations that serve rural areas are not a top priority when it comes to the allocation of resources (vehicles, budget, and personnel). There were not enough police vans to service the community. In this regard, the police officers argued that while they were demonstrably under-staffed, they were expected to cover or police a massive area. To attest to the massive load of policing, Participant LG indicated that *"The police are currently serving five Chiefs [five*

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communities], which is approximately over half a million population". Because the places are very distant from one another, Participant 5 admitted: *"What affects us the most is that, as members who work here, we end up wishing to fight crime but we can't, it's beyond our control."* Shaw (in Benit-Gbaffou, 2008:3) admits that police personnel in South Africa are considered insufficient to tackle the crime that is taking place. A classic example of two places that were very far apart is Ntukusweni and Sigqumeni. As a result, if two crimes were to be committed simultaneously in these places, the police officials would inevitably arrive late to the crime scene. This finding is consistent with the confession made by a police officer in Dixon's (2000:76) research that "the police cannot hope to enforce all laws all of the time".

- In terms of staffing, the current personnel in the police station is disproportionately fewer than the amount of land they ought to serve. Disproportionality, according to Pelser (1999:7), is caused by the fact the SAPS is extremely top-heavy and centralised. To this end, Participant LG echoed the statement that *"The staffing is zero in the police station, maybe out of a 100; it's 39% at least"*. Participant LG further said:

  > *"… in most cases, you will find that there is one person in the charge office, mainly a female who is there, in the patrol van there is one, if not two, attending, and yet the police station is serving five Chiefs"*.

- In terms of budget allocation, Participant 4 acknowledged that the issue of budgetary constraints is a serious concern facing not only their police station but it is a national crisis. Arguing along similar lines, Dixon (2000:77) indicates that "high-impact" policing is impossible to sustain without a massive and unaffordable increase in resources.
- Despite the abovementioned challenges, the poor management and ill-advised utilisation of police vans were considered self-imposed and self-created. From this perspective, the shortage of vehicles was questionable (Participant 4). The blame was apportioned to the distribution and allocation of vehicles to different sections. It was argued that the distribution of vehicles among different sections in the police station was not even. For instance, a classic scenario was given that there would be a section that has been allocated many vehicles compared to other sections. Participant 4 confessed that *"The main problem is that we don't help each other [share]"*. To this end, Pelser (1999:7) argues that the

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hierarchical structure of the police inhibits individual innovation. Using Pelser's (1999) perspective, it is often considered presumptuous, unbecoming, or disingenuous if a young police officer (lower rank or newly recruited) tells the leader how he/she must use police vehicles.

- The main concern raised was that the limited resources were not used prudently and sparingly to achieve the objectives of crime prevention. The blame was mainly apportioned to top management for using state vehicles for their own private gains or interests. The disgruntled police officer went on to say:

> *"If they can understand the PFMA [Public Finance Management Act], I don't think we can compromise the service delivery because there is no need to take a state vehicle and use it as if it's my own car, while it is supposed to serve the community; yet when the community needs cars, there are no cars"* (Participant 4).

8.8.2 External challenges

The following are the external challenges (in no particular order) that affect the police:

- The SAPS, as a whole, is politicised;
- There is too much red tape (or bureaucracy);
- Most of the leadership is incompetent; and
- Corruption.

In terms of the politicisation of the SAPS, the classic example mentioned was that it is difficult to implement some of the key decisions that are being taken if they are not in line with a particular political agenda that is advanced at a particular time. Consistent with this practice, a study conducted in Sri Lanka also confirmed that the police were intimately connected to politics (Denney, 2016:6). Because of this intimate connection with politics, policing was slow to change in post-conflict situation (Denney, 2016:6). The politicisation of the police is therefore not peculiar to South Africa. Using the SAPS as an instrument to pervade and infuse political agenda undoubtedly proves to be an antithesis to the removal of the oppressive control exerted by the old SAP (Mengistu *et al*., 2000:15). For instance, Participant 1 indicated:

> *"In the past we were allowed to give out the crime statistics like if you ask about certain things; like how many crimes have been committed; but now we are not allowed; there must be a certain way that you need to follow when you are reporting."*

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As a result, when police officers engage with communities, the leadership of the police increasingly becomes unhappy. While it is becoming a common practice, this argument does not augur well for "a new progressive paradigm of a partnership between the people and the government" (Mengistu *et al*., 2000:15). Bureaucratically, most of the crime prevention plans or strategies (such as sector policing) frequently are stalled or hindered at the initial phases (usually planning phases) because of the insurmountable red tape that stifles quick service delivery or policy implementation. Owing in part to lack of fluidity, and the robustness or rigidity of red tape, the plans hardly or rarely reach the implementation phase. Yet, unabated implementation challenges continue to lend credence to the public view that the police force is incapable of controlling crime, especially violent crime (Mengistu *et al*., 2000:15). An example of red tape was given by Participant 1:

> *"So currently we give them [national leadership] statistics so that they're able to sugar-coat them, so they know how they do their business; what they normally do is romanticise or sugar-coat so that it would appear as if there is an improvement in crime management; whereas on the ground it is even worse; so all these things make life difficult for us."*

Romanticising crime information creates the impression that crime is decreasing. Breetzke (2010:446) finds the perpetual assertion by the SAPS that levels of crime are decreasing ambiguous. Participant LG also concurred with the police officers in terms of plans failing to reach the implementation phase because of too much red tape. Pelser (1999:7) argues that, traditionally, the SAPS top management delegates very limited actual management authority to its local level operational command, namely the station commissioners. This practice leaves leaders at grassroot level with no leadership expertise. Groenewald and Peake (2004:10) stipulate that there is a high demand for basic management skills within the police. Due in part to poor management in the SAPS, Participant LG complained frantically about the lack of decisiveness in terms of addressing the shortage of staff in the police station: *"I have tried to arrest the issue with the Brigadier General at the cluster level, up to six months, there has been no response. It's a management issue at the station and cluster level."*

The other challenge was that there were no resources from the top. Consequently, no decisive operational plans were cascaded down to the ground level due to the incompetence of leadership at the top (Participant 1). The issue of leadership incompetence adversely affected the proper and reasonable staffing of police officers

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at the station level. Attributing lack of staffing to gross incompetence, Participant LG indicated:

> *"They can't be under-staffed, I have a proof with me where you get students from the college recruited for this particular station and when they come back from the college, the cluster sends them to some other police stations but recruited for this particular station. I have about 15 of them whom I have their force numbers with me."*

In terms of unfettered corrupt activities within the SAPS, an example was made of buildings that were being rented out but that were not even used by civil servants. To this end, vast amounts of literature (Faull, 2007:4, 2011a:1, 2011b:1; Tiscornia, 2011:4) confirm unequivocally that police corruption remains a serious challenge in South Africa. Many police officers, from junior level up to senior level, are constantly implicated in various forms of wrongdoing. In the midst of these challenges that face the SAPS, the local government decided to make use of the metro police unit to attend to community complaints. Participant LG categorically stated:

> *"We get a metro police as a back up to attend to complaints. It seems to be working better. The community will always phone me because I will get the metro police to attend to their complaints. What can we do, the municipality must take over."*

According to Participant LG, the community often prefers to report complaints to the councillor rather than to the police officials, and if the councillor cannot handle the complaints, the metro police are brought on board. The literature argues that "resident perception of police trustworthiness and legitimacy are critical for cooperative relations between residents and officers" (Sunshine & Tyler in Hawdon, 2008:182). Using this analysis, it is clear that when the police do not listen, the community starts to ignore them. The police officials may not want to listen because they do not want to be told what to do, partly because they have an established monopoly of the policing enterprise (Marks *et al.*, 2009:145). Generally, most of the participants held a similar view that the police officials were failing to prevent crime in the community (36.9% agreed and 23.5% strongly agreed). Social capital is not strong between the police and the community. As a consequence, it could be deduced that there is a high level of deviation.

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8.9 CAUSES OF CRIME IN THE COMMUNITY

To fully comprehend the role of the police officials, the role of CPFs and all relevant stakeholders, it is important to highlight the causes of crime in the community. Many causes of crime were cited by the participants. The causes include drug use and alcoholism, taxi violence, political violence, and the setup and remoteness of the area.

- Excessive drug use and alcoholism came up often when the police came into contact with the community (Participant SN). Ramphele (in Emmett, 2001:5) argues that alcohol and drug abuse is the result of the collapse of informal social controls. The excessive use of these substances was believed to amplify or intensify individuals to become more uncontrollable, gullible, and prone to committing crimes (Participant SN).
- The taxi industry has always been riddled with fights over routes (Participant 4). As a result, there were people who committed crime under the guise (or pretext) of taxi violence. They committed opportunistic crimes or framed one another.
- Political violence was reported as a serious concern that destabilises the community. According to Emmett (2001:5), apartheid paved the way for intra-community violence and intra-family violence. Internal wrangles (quarrels or factions) within different political groupings have often resulted in deaths. Factions or infighting allowed certain individuals to capitalise or commit crime so that it would seem as if it was politically motivated (opportunistic crimes). Sometimes it involved taxi violence or family disputes (Participant 4).
- The setup and remoteness of the area were also a serious concern. Because the houses are not close to each other, and the area is bushy and overgrown, criminals commit crimes easily and then hide in the bush (Participant 1).

The existing literature acknowledges that it is difficult to deal with the abovementioned challenges. For example, according to Pelser (2008:3), addressing crime in South Africa has become an insurmountable challenge because even schools have become key sites of crime and violence.

8.10 CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES

In accordance with developments across the world, Gumedze (2015:14) asserts that crime prevention in Southern Africa is anchored on the principle of community policing.

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The justification that is given is that the police alone cannot do the work optimally without partnering with the community. While the police are supposed to work in concert with the CPF, the police only mentioned sector policing as a viable crime prevention strategy. The police officials did not believe that the CPF was a viable option to prevent and reduce crime. To this end, scholarly arguments (Hlungwani, 2014:15; Maroga, 2004:1-8; Smith, 2008:17; Van Niekerk, 2016:14) firmly support the fact that although there are clear implementation challenges (such as lack of resources), sector policing is a viable strategy. Although crippled by a lack of resources to implement it, the police officials shared similar sentiments that sector policing can reduce crime. Structurally, they argued that it is composed of different representatives from different structures (traditional leadership mainly) that exist in the community (Participant 4). For sector policing to be effective, the members need to hold meetings on a regular basis to keep each other abreast with the challenges that face the community. However, it was indicated that sector policing idea was not implementable due to lack of resources (funding and vehicles) (Participant 1).

8.10.1 The successes and failures of the police

8.10.1.1 Successes

Surprisingly (or not surprisingly), there was only one successful incident related to the police that stood out during the fieldwork period. The police worked effectively in concert with the community and succeeded in finding a large amount of drugs, recovered stolen money, and stolen goods were recovered from a house. This success was over-emphasised by two police officials.

8.10.1.2 Failures

The failures mainly relate to lack of trust between stakeholders. Yet, it is argued that "[t]rust enables the entering of relationships more easily than where there is an absence of trust" (Esau, 2008:357). The failures include arriving late and not turning up at crime scenes, poor working relationships with CPF members, and arrogant behaviour displayed by police officials towards civilians. Hawdon (2008:182) posits that "resident trust of police and perceptions of police legitimacy may depend on

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neighbourhood levels of social capital". Because only one success story was mentioned, social capital (at the level of the police and the community) is not strong.

8.11 COMMUNITY CHALLENGES

There are challenges that endanger or weaken trust and social cohesion in the community. According to the participants (the traditional leaders, the CPF members, and the police), the community is plagued by a plethora of challenges. This finding is consistent with the literature. For example, Marks and Wood (2007:134) purport that "South Africa is a society in transition with regulatory gaps; significant deficits in public service delivery; weakening and changing forms of social control; a state trying to assert its governing effectiveness; and a crime-weary civil society".

Owing to regulatory gaps and significant deficits in public service delivery, crime has become one of the major challenges that faces South Africa (Breetzke, 2006:723). The challenges identified in the community include excessive drug use, alcoholism, housebreaking, stock theft, rape, murder, taxi violence, political violence, protection of children when they are accused of crime, and vigilantism.

8.11.1 Excessive drug use

The excessive and widespread use of *whoonga* frequently came up in the discussions. There is excessive use of *whoonga* in the community (Participant MS). Almost all the participants (police officers, CPF, traditional leaders, and the community) agreed that *whoonga* is a serious problem in the community. According to Participant MM, *"The biggest problem is the* whoonga*"*. There was a shared understanding that the youth is particularly vulnerable to drug use. This finding is directly in line with Pelser's (2008:3) research. Pelser (2008:3) found that the youth (in this case, school children) were the perpetrators of threats (94.4%), assault (94.1%), robbery (55.4%), and theft in schools, whereas the teachers were identified as perpetrators in 5.8% of thefts, 5% of threats, and 4.6% of reported robberies (Pelser, 2008:3). The use of drugs undoubtedly triggers acts of crime.

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8.11.2 Alcoholism

Excessive drinking of alcohol (especially among the youth) emerged as an insurmountable challenge that faces the community. When people are under the influence of alcohol, they become uncontrollable and end up committing crime (Participant 1).

8.11.3 Housebreaking and theft

Increased cases of housebreaking and theft were attributed to excessive use of drugs – particularly *whoonga*. Most parents do not have the wherewithal (money or resources) to raise their children in a proper or dignified manner. The children start stealing in order to get money. The stolen goods are sold with the purpose of buying *whoonga*. The place was considered unsafe as innocent people walking in the street continue to be mugged late at night or in the morning and their personal belongings stolen. The participants indicated that it was not safe (or was nerve-racking) to walk at night and at the crack of dawn.

8.11.4 Stock theft

Cows and goats are being stolen. The community was very distraught because the alleged criminals were not apprehended. One classic example was given where four cows were stolen and slaughtered in the bush. Apparently, the meat was sold. Only the bones were found (Participant SN). It was not clear whether local business people were colluding in this form of crime or not.

8.11.5 Rape

As indicated earlier, cases of rape are rarely reported to the police. In most cases, the community handles these cases in its own way, following cultural or religious beliefs. Participant 1 indicated that rape cases were usually reported by victims five years after they happened. The rape cases often disappear if the alleged criminal is a breadwinner of the family. Inevitably, these matters are settled by traditional leaders, who usually impose a lenient sentence on the alleged criminal (Participant 1).

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8.11.6 Murder

Isolated cases of murder were reported. There was a general feeling among the participants that the murder rate was becoming uncontrollable. For instance, it was indicated that *"… what typically happens more often are organised forms of crime where criminals would target a person, and kill him/her at night not in broad daylight like open shooting"* (Participant MM). Committing any form of crime is easy partly because the area is fragile and easily penetrable. Furthermore, it emerged that the fragility is enhanced by the bushiness and remoteness of the area (Participant 1). According to Kynoch (2005:493), the existing state of lawlessness and violent crime in South Africa can be attributed to the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s.

8.11.7 Taxi violence

The issue of taxi violence emerged during the discussion with police officials. Every now and then, the taxi owners fight over routes. Although it happens periodically, the issue of taxi violence has debilitating consequences not only for the taxi owners but also for the public at large. Taxi owners kill each other, and in the process the public transport users are often stranded. As a consequence, there are isolated incidents of murder that were attributed to taxi violence.

8.11.8 Political violence

Because factions (or infighting) are deeply embedded among various political formations, most people are killed due to political violence. This took two directions according to the police officials. It was usually intra-party or inter-party fights. On the one hand, intra-party fights relate to the deaths or factions (different groupings or divisions) that occur inside one political party. On the other hand, inter-party fights relate to deaths that occur as a result of fights between two or more political formations. Kynoch (2005:493-494) concedes that the "political" violence in KwaZulu-Natal reflects or epitomises the hostilities of the 1980s and 1990s. Kynoch (2005:494) specifically mentions that the "political" violence between the ANC and IFP in KwaZulu-Natal ravaged the province by creating instability and suspicion. Incidents of murder that were linked to political violence were reported to the police.

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8.11.9 The protection of children accused of crime

Since it was mostly the youth that was largely labelled as troublemakers, most parents willingly (or unwillingly) find it disconcerting or demeaning when their children are singled out as alleged criminals in the community. As a result, they make concerted efforts to protect their children. This was mostly attributed to self-blame (or self-guilt) on the side of the parents because most of them did not have the wherewithal (money, reserves, capital, or funds) to raise their children properly. In this context, Emmett (2000:501) argues that communities refuse to participate in situations where they are expected to assist because they do not have social and material resources. Emmett (2000:501) further argues that poor communities are fragmented. Using Emmett's (2000) analysis, it becomes clear that sometimes the community (in this case, parents) do not fully understand what role they should (or must) play if such situations arise. While the issue of lack of material wealth and its effect on community participation are clearly explained by Emmett (2000), it emerged that most parents protected their children partly because they were scared of them. There were children who were so disrespectful that they could not even be told by their parents what to do. Lastly, when children are accused of alleged criminal activities, most parents claimed that their children were being vilified (Participant SN). Using vilification as a guise (or pretext) could in part be informed by self-blame or fear of the children. Like the broken window theory pointed out and the social disorganisation theory argued in Chapter 3, when the informal social controls are weak in a society, there will be high levels of crime. When informal social controls (parents) protect their children, it gives an indication that there are no strong bonds among neighbours and that there is no solidarity or social interaction among them (Kubrin, 2009:227). Consequently, under such circumstances the likelihood of crime increasing is always much higher.

8.11.10 Vigilantism or mob justice

In all likelihood, when the police fail to act, the community resorts to self-help initiatives (Ikuteyijo, 2008:287). Due to the slowness or inefficiency of the criminal justice system or escalating forms of crime, the community resorts to a deterrent or prohibitionist approach such as vigilantism or mob justice in an effort to quell or avert growing criminal activities. Nina (2000:18) posits that it is mostly inevitable for communities to avoid vigilantism partly because it has existed for many years in South Africa. The pre-

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and post-apartheid eras are characterised by different versions of vigilantism in South Africa. Nina (2000:18) purports that before 1994, the “one settler, one bullet” slogan was used in the anti-apartheid struggle by a group that belonged to the Pan Africanist Congress. Conversely, the post-apartheid era saw the emergence of People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) with the slogan “one bullet, one peddler”. This was typically used as an anti-drug and anti-crime slogan (Nina, 2000:18). It is thus not surprising that extrajudicial forms of punishment have been imbued in communities, especially when alleged criminals are not arrested. As pointed out by Nina (2000:18), because the rules were clearly not enforced and the alleged criminals were not arrested, communities decided to take the law into their own hands after a perceived failure of the state to protect its citizens (Scharf, 2001:78). This takes the form of extrajudicial punishment where the alleged criminal is humiliated, beaten, or executed by the crowd or mob. Three incidents of vigilantism were reported in different sub-sections (Participants MS, MM, MN, SN, and NS). One of these incidents resulted in the death of an alleged criminal in Siweni. In another separate incident, alleged criminals survived and subsequently retaliated against those who punished them – thereby resulting in more people being killed in Sikhelekehleni. Consequently, Camaroff and Camaroff (2004:514) note that vigilantism has been taken seriously by the post-apartheid government following the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry into Witchcraft Violence and Ritual Murder. According to Camaroff and Camaroff (2004:514), the commission recommended the prosecution of those who “took the law into their own hands” by attacking suspected witches. Monogham (2008:84) sees the legacy of political resistance as the catalyst for people to take the law into their own hands in South Africa. Those who took part in the killing of the alleged criminal at Siweni must still appear in court.

8.12 THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

The institution of traditional leadership has become a point of vociferous debate after the advent of democracy (Meer & Campbell, 2007:2). It is therefore worth noting that unlike different structures that are found in the community, the institution of traditional leadership fervently believes in more restorative (or rehabilitative/reconstructive) ways of building a community. This practice is not surprising, according to Khonou (2009:1), because traditional leadership signifies an early form of societal organisation.

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For example, most traditional leaders pointed out that their responsibility is to admonish, persuade, or reprimand alleged troublemakers (Participants MS and MN). This is in line with current research because, in the African perspective, a leader is viewed as someone who is a servant to the clan, tribe, community, or group (Masango, 2002:708). While the proponents of traditional leadership insist that it is at the centre of leadership in Africa, the traditional leaders understand that there is a procedure that they traditionally follow in discharging their responsibilities. For example, when married couples (or alternatively, single parents) request a plot in the community, the traditional leaders are there to explain to them in detail how they are supposed to behave and to clarify the adverse consequences if they are found to have acted improperly or contravened the law (Participant MS). The punishments ordinarily range from light (fines of one or two goats or cows) to severe. Severe punishments include expulsion or banishment from the area.

The majority of the participants (local government, the CPF, the police, and the general public) saw traditional leadership as playing a more impartial or arbitration role. Oomen (2005:164) concurs that people continue to owe allegiance to the institution of traditional leadership because it is deeply rooted in the social fabric of African communities. The traditional leadership mediates or settles traditional disputes, including witchcraft and family disputes. They are the custodians of land. By virtue of being the custodians of land, Pycroft (2002:105) purports that the institution of traditional leadership retains a constitutional right to be consulted on issues that have a bearing on land under their control.

The institution of traditional leadership was largely perceived as impartial and untroubled in the sense that they did not take any side of the existing political formations (Participants MM and MV). It was maintained that traditional leaders were not actively involved in politics, but were able to resolve disputes amicably. As opposed to other existing structures (such as CPFs) in the community, traditional leaders hold regular meetings where they discuss community challenges. The traditional leaders meet every Wednesday to give feedback or account for the challenges that are facing different sub-sections in the community.

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8.13 CHALLENGES THAT FACE TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

The challenges mentioned by traditional leaders were not only peculiar to the community. Various researchers have shown that traditional leadership have experienced challenges in Africa. For instance, Ntsebeza (in Butler 2002:28) notes that traditional leadership was on the verge of collapse during colonialism. The relationship between rural communities and traditional leadership is hugely complex and contradictory (Pycroft, 2002:105). In contradistinction to the effective role played by traditional leadership, the only key challenge that seemed to undermine traditional leadership, according to the police officers, was when the traditional leaders started to interfere, overstepped their authority, and decided on criminal matters such as rape in an attempt to protect the alleged criminal. However, it is worth accentuating that some of the participants (traditional leaders) deeply understood that cases such as murder, rape, and assault did not fall within the ambit or jurisdiction of traditional leaders (Participant NB). They referred such cases to the police (Participants NB, MV, and MN).

8.14 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the data in comparison with the literature, existing theories, and relevant policy prescripts. Extrapolating from the theoretical and practical (or pragmatic) analysis, the chapter showed that by creating good working relationships or partnerships between the CPF, the police officials and the community are increasingly becoming a global phenomenon in terms of crime prevention strategies. The community policing approach is at the centre of these partnerships. Yet, in terms of the level of compliance, the chapter showed that social capital is strong at the level of friends, neighbours, or relatives because they perpetually support one another without expecting anything in return. This is the bonding level of social capital (see Chapter 2). However, in terms of the level of deviation, the chapter showed that organisations (or entities) that transcend friends, neighbours, or relatives are not cooperating. This is the bridging and linking level of social capital (see Chapter 2). Starting with the relationship between the community and the CPF, the chapter unequivocally confirmed that the relationship is plagued by serious challenges. In terms of the relationship between the CPF and police, the chapter showed that there is a serious power struggle between the two entities that negatively affects

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partnerships. As a result, partnerships anchored on these two entities have become fragile and feeble. The relationship between the CPF and the community is also not reciprocal since the community is not even aware of the existence of CPFs. The CPF is therefore considered dysfunctional and non-existent. In terms of the relationship between the police and the community, the data showed that there is no cooperation because of suspicion and lack of trust. As in the case of apartheid, the police officials are still believed to be colluding with alleged criminals. Despite poor working relationships between the police, the CPF, and the community in general, traditional leadership was believed to play a prominent role. While this chapter was based primarily on the inferences and the discussion of emerging issues, the following chapter provides conclusions, discusses the limitations of the study, discusses the key findings with specific reference to the research questions and research objectives, indicates its contribution to science as mentioned in Chapter 1, makes recommendations, and identifies future research prospects.

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CHAPTER 9
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Isn't it amazing that we are all made in God's image, and yet there is so much diversity among his people? – Desmond Tutu

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a critical reflection of the study and reemphasises the focus and aim of the study. It is imperative to accentuate that the aim of the study was to analyse the role of social capital in a trust-building model between the police and community in KwaXimba. By undertaking critical reflection, this chapter starts by providing a summary of the preceding chapters. The chapter also highlights the limitations of the study, discusses the concluding remarks, and indicates how the research questions were answered. The chapter develops a model that can be used effectively to build trust between the police, the CPF, and communities. The chapter makes recommendations, and ends by identifying future research prospects that are worth exploring to deepen the understanding of police-community relations.

9.2 SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS

This study was undertaken with the sole purpose of using social capital as a trust-building model between the police and communities. This theoretical standpoint was in accordance with the argument that trust in government institutions (the police) is essential to building cooperative values among citizens (Evans in Myeong & Seo, 2016:4). Firstly, it is imperative to accentuate that social capital has been used by many fields as a framework to respond to social challenges. Secondly, social capital was used as a trust-building model due to its ability to promote economic development and stable liberal democracy (Fukuyama in Muller & Coetzee, 2012:118). More importantly, the study was undertaken in response to a supposition that the relationship of trust between the police, the CPF, and the community was increasingly diminishing. The three role players (namely, the police, the CPF, and the community) were prominent in underscoring and operationalising the role of social capital and unleashing its potential. It is worth noting that this point of departure was undergirded by the fact that burgeoning scholarly arguments bear testimony that social capital is the glue that holds or unites different people, groups, and organisations (see Chapter

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2). In this context, the corpus of literature further asserts that social capital has the ability to allay fears in a crime-ridden society.

Therefore, at the centre of the relationship between the police and community, the CPFs were conceivably considered a bridge (or buffer) that could connect, promote, enhance, or disconnect and hinder reciprocal relationships between the police and communities. Reciprocal relationships are a key element of social capital. The CPFs were thus placed at the centre in light of the fact that they are found in local communities, and as a result, they are better positioned to know and identify the local challenges that exist in their respective communities. By virtue of the CPF's proximity to the community, it serves as the eyes and ears of the police officials on the ground. In analysing the role of social capital and its impact on the relationships between the police, the CPF, and the community, various chapters of this study were devoted to examining various aspects that impinge upon social capital.

Chapter 1 introduced the study by highlighting the background, context, and orientation of the study; it provided the reasons why the study was undertaken. It discussed the research problem, the research questions and objectives, the scope of the study, and the rationale and significance of the study. The chapter also extensively discussed the research design and methodology that was used to collect and analyse data. The chapter explained at length why certain research approaches or methods were chosen over others. It also explained how the researcher complied with the prescribed ethical considerations that should be obeyed prior to field research, during field research, and after the field research is completed. The chapter ended by defining the key concepts that undergird the study, and provided the layout of the thesis.

Chapter 2 provided an overview of the theoretical basis upon which social capital is anchored. The origins of the social capital concept, definitions, trends, and patterns in scholarly arguments were reviewed and critiqued. The chapter further explained how and why the concept of social capital has become a cross-disciplinary (or inter-disciplinary) concept. It assessed the proponents and the critics of social capital and ended by examining the interface between social capital and community policing. This interface was necessary in terms of understanding social capital as the underlying feature that undergirds police-community relations. This chapter was important for the study as it allowed the reader to conceptualise the study in a broader context.

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Chapter 3 discussed trust as one of the central components of social capital that is essential to building a relationship between the police and communities. Factors that undergird the process of trust-building were also discussed; for instance, the building blocks of trust and how trust could be built effectively and cemented in communities. The chapter explained how one (the trustee) trusts the other (trustor), and how one begins to trust the other, and the factors that influence the relationship between the trustor and the trustee.

Chapter 4 examined police-community relations from an international perspective. The sole purpose of the chapter was to identify (and possibly emulate) international best practices that could be applicable to improve the police-community relations in South Africa. While the chapter focused primarily on the USA and China as the selected case studies, the experiences of European and African countries were also assessed in addition to the stated case studies. The USA and China were found to be more intriguing and value-adding because these countries use different (or almost parochial) approaches (or modalities) to manage their political, social, and economic affairs. As such, the case studies provided different contexts within which social capital and police-community relations could be understood, anchored, and configured (or reconfigured).

Chapter 5 discussed police-community relations in South Africa. The chapter focused on policing during the colonial era, before and after the apartheid era. Needless to say, this analysis merely served as the precursor of how community policing (in particular CPFs) were introduced in South Africa. It is instructive to point out that, in particular, CPFs were introduced in response to the growing exigency for transformation and police reforms within the SAPS, and in response to the high crime rate. The chapter thus examined the establishment and the role of CPFs, and the key challenges that face CPFs in South Africa.

Chapter 6 aimed to review the legislative environment and the policy prescripts that undergird or regulate the relationship between the police and communities. While CPFs are mainly used as a bridge between the police and communities in terms of enabling crime prevention and reduction, policies and regulations relating to social crime prevention were thoroughly reviewed. To achieve this in a logical and coherent manner, the chapter provided a hierarchy of national, provincial, and local government

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policy prescripts and legislations that enable or regulate police-community relations in South Africa.

Unlike the preceding chapters that focused exclusively on reviewing the related literature (be it policies, legislation, or scholarly works), the purpose of Chapter 7 was to present the research findings obtained through the field research. Using both quantitative and qualitative data as the point of departure, the chapter presented the data in such a way that the level of social capital was considered pre-eminently at the community level, at the level of the police and communities, and at the level of the community and CPFs. The chapter in turn synthesised the qualitative and quantitative data.

Finally, in terms of conducting meaningful analysis, and understanding the implications of the collected data in terms of the existing literature, Chapter 8 focused on discussing the data using analogies and extrapolations from the theory, international perspectives, and policy prescripts as analytical tools. To achieve this, the chapter focused on drawing comparisons between theory and practice. The chapter used two yardsticks (the level of compliance and the level of deviation) to measure the extent of social capital between the police, the CPF, and the community. The level of compliance was concerned with a situation where social capital appeared to be intact and strong, whereas the level of deviation was concerned with a situation where social capital appeared to be in danger.

9.3 THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A number of practical and logistical challenges were experienced by the researcher during the course of the study. Funding was a challenge and time to complete the study was limited. The shortage of resources and time constraints did not weaken the collection of data or the finalisation of the research project. It should also be acknowledged that the research involved the use of qualitative interviews that on the one hand proved to be rich in terms of substance and detail, but on the other hand the researcher was fully aware that qualitative research is susceptible to bias, subjectivity, and is extremely time consuming to analyse. The bias was mitigated by asking probing questions because the semi-structured interviews afforded the researcher more flexibility and manoeuvrability to seek further clarification. The triangulated research

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instruments helped to fill the gaps. For example, the questionnaire was administered to fill the gaps left by the qualitative interviews and to improve the credibility of the research data.

Secondly, on the practical side, it should also be acknowledged that challenges were experienced that were beyond the researcher's control. For instance, the pattern and the numbering of the roads in the community were erroneous. The condition of the roads was a challenge. Apart from the staggering condition of the roads, there were also inconsistencies pertaining to households. For example, some of the households had postal address numbers and not house numbers, while others had house numbers and not postal address numbers. In some instances, house numbers were not easy to see, either because they had worn out or the houses had been repainted. To mitigate this limitation, the researcher had to start by looking carefully at the pattern of the houses and manually counted the ones that should and should not be included in the sample. The other option that worked was to enquire from the members of the households if they still had or remembered the correct numbers in order to ensure that the sample remained flawless and intact.

A total of 200 questionnaires were distributed, and 50 questionnaires were not returned. Based on the researcher's observation, the reluctance was partly attributed to the disbelief and despair that could reasonably be attributed to the high unemployment rate in the area. Quite understandably, most participants asked the researcher what they would receive in exchange for participating in the study, and whether the study would enhance the speed at which basic services were delivered to the community. The participants wanted the researcher to provide them with jobs or money. This in the main was partly because they seemed to conflate divergent issues. For example, when the participants saw the researcher carrying papers, they were immediately fascinated and instinctively thought that he was a government official. This was fair as they pointed out that government officials had been asking them to complete forms and promising them jobs, but did not deliver on their promises. As a consequence, the residents have lost interest in completing forms. This did not, however, meaningfully or substantively weakened the study since the data obtained were complemented by the data obtained from the community leaders who indicated that due to bad experiences, the residents were no longer keen to complete or sign forms. To countervail this, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and the

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value of the participants' participation in a language that they understood, and informed them that he was also a resident in the area and how the community would indirectly benefit from the study.

As pointed out during the focus group discussions, getting the necessary quorum (six to 12 members) was extremely difficult for the CPF members. The members promised to come to the interview, but did not show up and cited various work-related commitments. For instance, some of the participants claimed that they did not have reliable transport and could not afford to pay for public transport. Their excuses were, however, surprising given that a series of appointments were scheduled via the coordinator and the chairperson. It is worth mentioning that most CPF members were involved in election campaigns since the fieldwork took place at a time when all political parties were campaigning for the 2019 general election. It emerged that most of the CPF members were active members of political parties. To countervail this weakness, the researcher conducted a very thorough, long, flexible, and highly inquisitive focus group discussion with those participants who were available. The discussion took more than an hour to complete as the participants were willing to share a great deal of information regarding the challenges they were experiencing, and how they carried out their functions under difficult circumstances.

Information might have been slightly distorted when the research instruments were translated into isiZulu since the community predominantly spoke isiZulu. The translation also took place during transcription since most of the audio clips were recorded in isiZulu during the qualitative interviews. To counterbalance the possibility of information distortion, the translated research instruments were thoroughly checked and cross-checked by four isiZulu mother-tongue speakers with postgraduate qualifications before the pilot study was conducted. The interview transcripts were also checked.

As expected in remote rural areas, some of the areas did not have drivable roads and it was therefore difficult for the researcher to reach certain places by car. Long distances thus had to be covered on foot to reach the places to meet with the participants. The frequency of visits was slightly curtailed, and the safety of the researcher was also slightly compromised. To mitigate this, places had to be visited early in the morning. This did not, however, substantively and adversely affect the

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collection of data since it was possible to spend the necessary time with the participants. Despite the challenges, the researcher managed to build rapport and cemented it with constant communication with the community leaders.

9.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The concluding remarks complete the cycle of the research process by examining specifically how the study responded to the key research questions and objectives. The key research findings discussed below therefore take the cue from the six research questions that provided the basis upon which this study was based.

9.4.1 To what extent does social capital contribute to trust-building between the police and communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality?

The study found that the level of social capital between the police and communities in KwaXimba was weak. There are no effective and efficient programmes or structures in place that enable continuous or constant communication between the police and the community. This finding is contrary to the arguments in Chapter 2 that social capital depends on sustained networks. The relationship has therefore increasingly become antagonistic or fragmented in nature due largely to the diminishing trust between the police and communities. The relationship becomes antagonistic when there is a lack of common goals between the police and communities (Pino, 2001:202). Most participants indicated that the community was not safe despite the presence of the local police station. The community leaders (especially the traditional leaders) were not hesitant to state that they would give the police officials very low points in terms of how they did their job. Partly as a result of low performance, communication breakdowns, and diminished trust between the police and the community, the community has resorted to using metro police officials instead of the SAPS. The social capital is strong between the community and the metro police officials. The community is well organised and disciplined, which causes social capital to flourish. Evans (in Myeong & Seo, 2016:4) maintains that it is easy to forge and foster cooperative values within a community if the community is organised.

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9.4.2 Does the building of social capital contribute to trust-building between the police and communities?

Concerted efforts are effectively being used in the community to revitalise, restore, or rekindle the relationship between the police and communities. However, these efforts are not sufficient since they appear to exclude other key role players. As shown in Chapters 7 and 8, strong social capital exists at the level of friends, neighbours, and relatives, which is bonding social capital (see Chapter 2). It is also worth mentioning that distant relationships (especially friends, colleagues, and relatives that are far) were also strong, which is bridging social capital. Conversely, weak relationships exist at the level of institutions (such as the police and government in general) and other groups in the social strata, which comprises linking social capital (see Chapter 2). Firstly, most participants disagreed that the police were working in tandem with the community. Some participants even indicated that the police officials were befriending (or ingratiating themselves with) alleged criminals, which undermines all the collaborative efforts aimed at preventing or combating crime and solidifying social capital. Despite these challenges, the leadership at the local police station level has started a good working relationship with the traditional leadership, which augurs well for social capital building. The relationship also adds great value to building trust between the police and the community. In terms of the new initiative, the station commander meets regularly with the traditional leaders to discuss creative or collective ways to prevent or reduce crime in the community. This initiative has the ability to foster sustainable and long-term partnerships and to enhance working relationships between the police and community. The only weakness of this development (or initiative) is that it is exclusionary and is at the developmental (or formative) stage. The development is exclusionary because the CPF, political and religious leadership, the youth development structures, and other key role players are excluded. Yet, the CPF in practice is supposed to act as a buffer between the police and the community. Although the initiative is a noble idea in terms of building trust between the police and communities, it may not yield the intended results as it is not properly constituted. For instance, it was argued that most of the crime (drug use and excessive alcohol use) is believed to be committed by the youth, but the youth development structures are excluded from this initiative. Police officials are also faced with challenges such as lack of resources (police vehicles and personnel), lack of adequate budget, and ill-

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conceived use of allocated resources. The police are also perceived to be corrupt and politicised. As a consequence, these factors negatively affect the relationship or partnership between the police and the community.

9.4.3 Does trust between the police and communities contribute to lower levels of crime?

Using the case of the Denge sub-section, the traditional leaders asserted that they worked well with the police. The reciprocal relationship and trust were strong. The social capital between the police and the community was very strong. As a consequence, the level of crime was going down. Unlike in other sub-sections that were visited by the researcher, the working relationship in the Denge sub-section was uniquely strong between the police, the CPF, and the community. In other words, the level of trust between all the stakeholders was very high. The only downside of the Denge sub-section was that they were not using the local police station in KwaXimba, but rather the Monteseel Police Station located in the neighbouring community of Inchanga. A new study can be essential to understand the relationship between the police and the community of Inchanga. This proves that the level of trust may be stronger because they may be using different modalities or methods or they may have better resources. To this end, one CPF member acknowledged that the local police station in KwaXimba could not be trusted because it was under-resourced and backward in many ways. For instance, she made an example of a workshop that was aimed at equipping CPFs with requisite skills and knowledge. She argued that, unlike other police stations, their local police station did not even accompany them to the workshop so they were all brought under Monteseel Police Station (in Inchanga). She further stated that she learned a great deal in the workshop from other police stations that brought their CPFs and coordinators. Gaining information and sharing it with co-workers (or the community at large) is a social benefit, which is a key component of social capital.

9.4.4 Is there trust between the police and the community in eThekwini Metro?

It appeared that trust between the police and community was very weak. The police officials are perceived to not effectively do their jobs. Chapter 8 argued that when

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government institutions appear to be failing to do their job, the citizens lose trust and confidence in them. As a result, in respect to the loss of confidence, there was an increase in cases of vigilantism in the community. Firstly, the majority of the participants indicated that the police often took long to respond to the crime scene when they reported a criminal matter (31.1% agreed and 23.6% strongly agreed). Secondly, a large number of participants confirmed that they were beginning to lose confidence in the abilities of the police (42.7% agreed and 24.7% strongly agreed). Thirdly, a large number of participants (40.0%) were not sure that police officials would arrest alleged criminals when they reported criminal matters. A minority of participants said they trusted that the police officials would arrest alleged criminals (24.0% agreed and 12.7% strongly agreed). Consequently, 33.3% of the participants were neutral when asked about the visibility of the police, and 36% disagreed that the police officials were visible in the community. They further disagreed that the police officials worked in concert with the community. The trust between the police and the community is perilous, feeble, and at crossroads because some of the police officials were born in the community and they find it difficult to arrest their friends or neighbours.

9.4.5 Are there sufficient efforts to increase social capital in the eThekwini Metro?

Despite the challenges facing police officials, there is still hope that there could be light at the end of the tunnel. For instance, a large number of participants were of the view that, regardless of the challenges they were facing, they must continue to report criminal matters to the police (49.3% agreed and 20.0% strongly agreed). This augurs well for the growth and fostering of social capital in the community. It is also imperative to point out that improving the relations between the police and the community has become a mammoth (or cumbersome) task. The participants indicated that they used to report complaints to the local police station level and that such complaints were jotted down and forwarded to the cluster or provincial level, but nothing was done to attend to those complaints. This is partly fuelled by the fact that the police officials are reluctant to be told by the civilians what they must do (or not do) even if the proposals may be viable and applicable on the ground. Efforts to increase social capital are not sufficient due to lack of decisiveness on the side of management both at the local police station level and the cluster level. This negatively affects the performance of

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police officials, staffing, and their relationship or partnership with the community. For instance, an example was made that candidate police officers are sent to the college (training institution for police officials) to undergo the necessary training, and instead of coming back to serve the local police station, they are sent to other police stations. While this is not necessarily negative since most of them were born in the community, it negatively affects staffing at the station level. As a result, the community keeps blaming the local police station for underperformance and lack of visibility while the police really have serious staff shortages that could be prevented through decisive, resolute, and intransigent leadership.

9.4.6 What are the hindrances to building social capital in the eThekwini Metro?

The nature and level of social capital varied significantly in the community as compared to the level of social capital that was found among the police and the CPF members. At the level of friends, neighbours, and relatives, social capital appeared to be very strong. Interestingly, the majority of this group (69.4%) also actively participated in the public space. Participating in the public space implies that they were involved in mutually beneficial relationships and that social benefits accrued to them; for instance, socialising, sharing of information, togetherness, and social responsibility. These are the benefits of social capital.

However, the relations may not improve between the police and communities if the challenges that face the police are not adequately addressed. The pertinent challenges that face the police are perceived as lack of resources (vehicles, budget, personnel, buildings), lack of training with regard to communicating community members, politicisation of the SAPS, and unbridled police corruption. Firstly, the lack of resources hampers police officials from discharging their responsibilities as required by the Constitution. The lack of resources (see Chapter 8) was found to be a serious challenge that habitually inhibits the implementation of government policies such as social crime prevention strategies. Secondly, the identified challenges also included lack of training. The police officials need to undergo training in terms of improving their interpersonal or communication skills, especially when they deal with the members of the CPF and the community at large. Such training, according to the literature, should be geared towards changing the mindset, behaviour, and attitude of the police.

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The training needs to assist police officials to let go of the police force mentality, and instil a police service mentality. Thirdly, the participants argued that the SAPS, as a whole and not only at the local police station level, was politicised. This does not bode well for building trust and is uncharacteristic of the institution since it is entrusted with powers to fearlessly and fairly serve the government of the day regardless of political affiliation. Fourthly, there is also police corruption, which undermines collaborative efforts to prevent, reduce, and fight crime. Most participants indicated that police officials continue to befriend and collude with alleged criminals ostensibly in exchange for favours. This threatens and delegitimises social crime prevention efforts. Consequently, as argued in Chapter 8, the SAPS is top heavy and centralised. As a result, pertinent management skills and expertise are not cascaded down to the lower ranks.

Despite these challenges, the CPF is key in terms of facilitating and enhancing the role of the police. This can only be truly possible when the CPF performs its duties diligently and professionally. This is so partly because the CPF (owing to its proximity to the community) acts as a bridge between the police and the community. Yet, the relationship between the police and the CPF is antagonistic and is also marred by insurmountable challenges. Protracted power struggles were mostly singled out as the key hindrance that weakens the relationship between the police and the CPF. On the one hand, the police officials ridiculed the CPF members and were not willing to listen to and be told by the civilians (CPF members) how they must do their job, regardless of the existing policy arrangements that bind the two entities together. On the other hand, the CPF members found it reprehensible to be ridiculed by police officials. To this end, the CPF members argued that they were not taken seriously by the police officials when they reported criminal matters.

While the relationship between the police and the CPF is plagued by challenges, it is worth noting that the CPF also faces its own challenges. The CPF does not have adequate resources (dedicated staff, money, and physical buildings). The lack of resources inhibits the CPF to render its services effectively. The members of the CPF also admitted that they needed training through workshops in terms of how they must carry out their functions in concert with the community and with the police. The CPF members also mentioned that they did not receive any support from the community. The lack of support from the community was also a challenge that was mentioned by

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the police officials. The CPF (particularly the umbrella body) does not work in concert with the community (see Chapter 8). Since 2016, it was estimated that the CPF as the umbrella body has only met once or twice. Therefore, it is not working properly and is disintegrating and collapsing. Most traditional leaders argued that it is undermined by factions or infighting among the members because it is politically aligned. For instance, the CPF currently consists of people from KwaNyavu and KwaXimba, the communities that were previously divided politically and otherwise. These divisions or political feuds continue to manifest in the manner in which people are elected to become CPF members. The previous and current chairpersons are leaders of political formations. It is important to note that they are both from KwaXimba. Therefore, to a certain degree, gatekeeping is taking place in terms of who is elected to become a CPF member, and what agenda he/she is going to push. The CPF is not known in the community. As a result, while the CPF is supposed to be the centre (or buffer) of the police-community relations, it is not functional and is mostly non-existent. There was only one sub-section, namely Denge (out of 11 that were visited by the researcher) throughout the whole community where the CPF performed relatively better.

9.5 A PROPOSED SOCIAL CAPITAL MODEL FOR BUILDING TRUST BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

According to the proposed social capital model for building trust between the police and the communities, traditional leadership sits at the centre or intersection level due to its ability to interact with all stakeholders (the police officials, the CPFs, and the local community) (see Figure 9.1). In accordance with the SCT, traditional leadership typically works as the glue that unites and binds police officials, the CPF, and the local community together. By virtue of proximity and similarity to the local community in terms of cultural practices, status, and influence, traditional leadership serves as *bridging social capital*. Because of the perceived politicised nature of the CPF, and the perceived uncooperative attitude of the police, traditional leadership is better suited to drive integrated or participatory plans aimed at establishing collaborative efforts between the police, the CPF, and the local community. It is a bridge between all these stakeholders due to its impartiality and its ability to reach out to the citizens regardless of power and status in the community.

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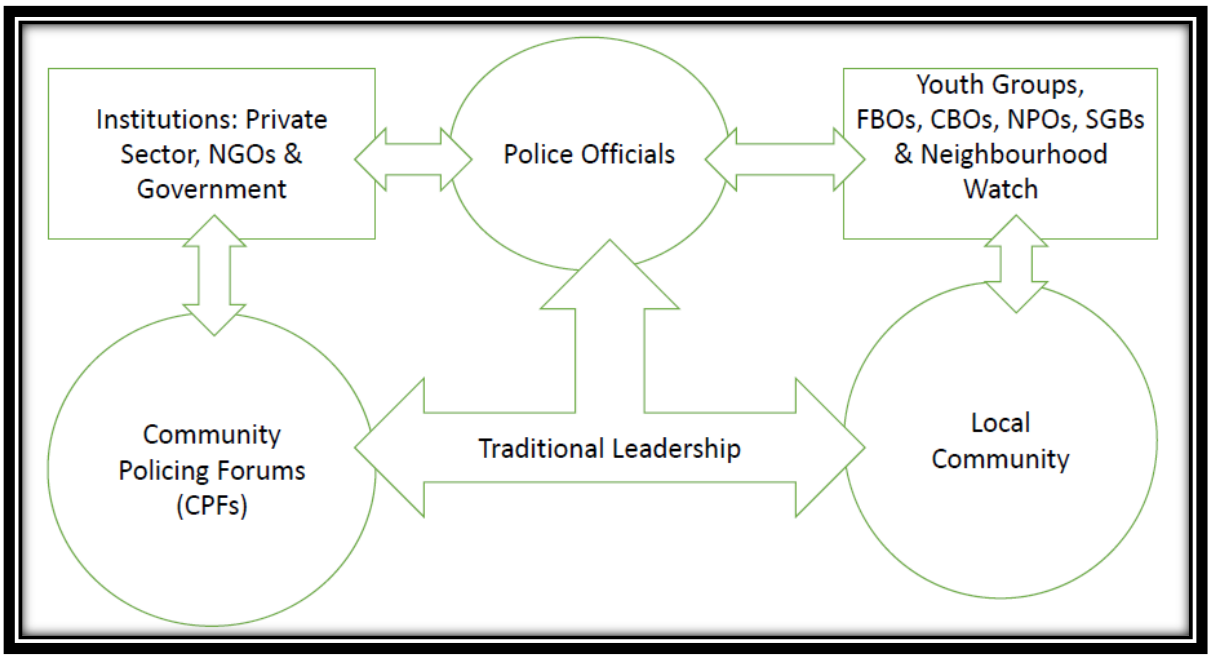
Figure 9.1: A six-point framework for building trust between the police and the community



Source: Author's own adaptation of social capital models

In view of the lack of effective policing, the proposed framework recommends that the local community needs to work in tandem with CBOs such as *stokvels* and burial societies, non-profit organisations, and FBOs such as churches to improve neighbourhood watch or to form street committees. Effective street committees come in handy especially in cases where the police are not effective or visible. Neighbourhood watch (or street committees) serves as a self-help mechanism to replace or complement the police. By using traditional leadership as an effective line of communication, the community can also report to the CPF through its representatives, especially when they are reluctant to report directly, and the non-partisan traditional leadership could potentially convey the message to the CPF and the police. In this way, community members may not be seen as informers, spies, or snitches. This is crucial for trust-building and social capital building precisely because these organisations serve as the centres where people meet on a regular basis to share their experiences or thoughts. They can share personal experiences with the police, the CPF, and all other stakeholders that are involved in the community in these meetings. Here, they can also develop positive or negative perceptions of the police and the CPF. Social benefits (information sharing, collective responsibility,

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togetherness, trust, and solidarity) therefore accrue to members. As a result, CBOs are a vantage point for building trust between the police and the community.

Furthermore, as shown by the proposed framework, by using traditional leadership as the impartial institution, the CPF needs to work closely with the police and the local community. The CPF and the local community serve as the *bonding social capital*. The bonding level of social capital is established by using links of close friends or distant colleagues. When the traditional leadership discusses community challenges, the meetings should include the representatives of the CPFs and the police. This is partly because traditional leadership is said to be impartial, while the CPFs are said to be politically aligned. For support in terms of resources, the institutions (*linking social capital*) are very key. The institutions could be internal (local-based) or external (national or international, especially intergovernmental organisations) to the community. These could be the police (government), the private sector, political formations, and NGOs. The institutions, at the level of *linking social capital*, could provide the necessary support (financial or otherwise) to the police and the CPF, and other CBOs. The private sector, together with NGOS, could lend a helping hand in this regard so that the police and the CPF become effective. In terms of power and financial status, the private sector and the NGOs are believed to be superior.

9.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

A plethora of recommendations that could safeguard and enhance social capital (in particular, trust) were made by the participants, especially the CPF members, the police, local government officials, and the community itself. The level of social capital was very strong between friends, neighbours, and relatives. However, when one transcends this level, the level of social capital became weak. While the participants varied in their experiences and perceptions, they all had one thing in common: the urgent need to improve the partnerships and the level of communication between all the stakeholders (the police, the CPF, the community, and the business community) involved in safety and security. The literature confirms that where there is high social capital, there are lower crime rates.

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9.6.1 Recommendations for all role players

It is recommended that all the affected structures (the CPF, the police, and traditional leaders) should meet on a regular basis so that they can collectively identify and agree on the challenges that face the community. At the tactical level, regular coordinating or strategic meetings are most preferable as a quick response to address challenges as they emerge, rather than waiting until they begin to spiral out of control. Regular meetings involving all stakeholders could serve as a monitoring and/or evaluation tool. As such, regular integrated or multilevel stakeholder meetings could help the community, alongside government structures, to collectively fight challenges and desist from working in silos. Integrated approaches could also build trust between all the affected parties. Multilevel stakeholders should include the police, the CPF, religious and political leadership, traditional leadership, the business community, and youth development or support structures. Social workers and other government institutions are important in terms of rendering professional help to youths who are actively involved in substance abuse. This cannot be achieved if the role players work in silos. Working in silos, for instance the police and the CPF, undermines social capital and social cohesion that could enhance collective responsibility, solidarity, reciprocity, trust, and togetherness.

At the operational level, despite certain groups working in silos, there are promising developments that should be harnessed and sustained. If harnessed and buttressed effectively, such developments should be able to create sustainable synergistic or reciprocal relationships in the long run. A classic example of a noble development is the fact that the station commander of the main local police station (Msunduzi) has volunteered to partner and work side by side with community leaders such as the traditional leaders to fight crime and other social ills that divide the community. This is a coordinated and collaborative effort, although it is still in the formative stages. It is interesting to note that the institution of traditional leadership welcomes the collaborative relationship with the police and is willing to help the police fight crime in every way possible. Based on the diversity and the complexity of the challenges that face the community, this synergistic relationship should be highly inclusive, integrated, and participatory, and not ostracise the relevant interest groups that are affected directly. For example, the CPF, the youth development structures, the religious leaders, and the business community should be included in this collaboration in order

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to develop a coordinated and coherent approach to enable social capital and trust-building in fighting social ills. Youth organisations in particular are especially relevant as many identified challenges (see Chapter 8) directly affect the youth.

Approaches used to build trust between the police and communities should be multilevel or multifaceted and not unidirectional. For instance, at the grassroots level, informal social controls such as families and churches should be strengthened and empowered in order to be able to rekindle and resolutely or uncompromisingly instil discipline and respect among the youth. Reforming the structure and ensuring representation of the youth in churches is key. Youth leaders could propagate proper value systems and instil or cultivate discipline in their peers. Empowering informal social controls should be done through forming or revitalising street committees or neighbourhood watch committees where parents share their experiences and learn from one another. To this end, the traditional leaders appealed that community members should respect one another and treat each other well. This, according to the institution of traditional leadership, will allow the community to live in peace. This will not be achieved if parents continue to protect their children when they commit crimes. The parents should anonymously report the children to the community leaders if they are scared of them.

A strong and enduring partnership should be forged between the ward councillor, the police, the CPF, the *Inkosi*, the *Izinduna*, the business community, and the religious leaders. This partnership should also include provincial and national government structures, NGOs, and other organisations in order to exert more pressure. Ideally, these structures should form an integrated and multilevel approach, undergirded by strong communication channels. The joint venture could ultimately come in handy in terms of tackling social problems as a unity and not in silos. The joint venture is in support of social capital. Social capital advocates for collective action at the micro or macro level, and the horizontal and vertical level. The level of communication and support should be infused and fostered in all these structures. All these structures should communicate constantly and remove all barriers to communication, such as ridiculing, patronising, or treating each other condescendingly. As a collective, the structures should prioritise the challenges that are facing the community. They should work closely and not double-cross and backstab each other. Supporting each other

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could be achievable if there is a high level of communication and engagement at all levels, and not mere tokenism.

9.6.2 Recommendations for the CPF

The CPF should be funded in order to be able to obtain adequate resources such as dedicated staff and physical buildings such as offices where it can keep important documents. Funding should be sourced from independent organisations such as NGOs. This is essential so that the CPF is not co-opted to work with political formations. Like other employees in different organisations, CPF members should learn and develop themselves continuously. To unlock the talent and potential of the CPF members, they should undergo relevant training and education in order to be kept abreast with recent developments in crime prevention. This could ultimately help them to recognise the dynamic and complex nature of the environments in which they find themselves. CPF members should be exposed to training or workshops in order to be able to enhance their agility, emotional intelligence, and communication skills and build sound relationships. The workshops should focus primarily on instilling emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence, as a coping mechanism, is essential in terms of improving relations with the police and the community and other structures that exist in the community. The training should focus on how to develop networks using new technologies such as social media. Continuous training and development are salient in this regard in terms of ensuring that CPF members become agile, resilient, and committed and are poised to carry out their tasks.

To ensure that appropriate members are elected to the CPF platform, the screening of members should be made a top priority. As a (pre)condition for entry into the CPF, the members should be screened before they become CPF members irrespective of whether they join in the capacity of being a volunteer or not. In this case, the vetting process should serve as a precursor for selection or appointment as a CPF member. This could help to ensure that the right people (not criminals) become members of the CPF. Furthermore, screening is also important to determine a person's standing in society before they are even elected to the CPF. This helps to circumvent situations where people are elected because the community is scared of them or because they want to gain access to secret information, or have criminal records. In identifying better-suited members of the CPF, the support from the local police station is pre-

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eminent and paramount. The support of the police should not, however, seek to create the impression that police officials would dominate the recruitment process. The support role of the police should be secondary, not primary, since the CPF is found in communities. To ensure effective (but surreptitious) operations, the concerns and the exigencies of the CPF members should be written down and acted upon by police officials. CPF coordinators should attend workshops in order to equip themselves with the requisite skills and knowledge as to how the CPF operates.

9.6.3 Recommendations for police officials

The police should do their work diligently without fear or favour. They need to improvise and distribute inadequate resources evenly. The limited available resources should be used for official duties and not for private use. More resources should be injected into the local police station in order to increase patrolling services and to increase the visibility of the police. This is extremely essential since the police can only gain the trust of the community when they are seen to be actively involved in fighting crime. This could also address most complaints that were raised by the participants relating to the lack of police visibility. The police should obtain more resources (such as vehicles, budget, and personnel). As shown by the case of the USA in Chapter 4, local police stations should begin to engage with key community leaders, inform new police officers about the importance of ethical behaviour, and begin to conduct citizen surveys. Police officials should be characterised by not only ethical but also responsible and accountable behaviour. As in China, it is important for police officials to take the role of the community (including CPFs) seriously in fighting crime. In light of a huge disproportionality between the police and the community, there should be a strong neighbourhood watch as part of the self-help approach so that the community can practise self-restraint and abide by the law. In China, the community is an important institution of social control (see Chapter 4). The police usually play a secondary role. Self-restraint can be achieved if the community starts reporting criminal matters to the police.

The police and CPF members should desist from befriending and ingratiating themselves with people who are implicated in criminal activities. Training that involves character building, confidence building, and capacity building is essential to sensitise the police about the secrecy and sensitivity of their operations. It is important that the

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leadership communicates at the level of the community. At the centre of a tripartite alliance (the police, the CPF, and the community), the participants indicated that the SAPS should not concentrate on training the community only, but should also train the police officials themselves because the police have not yet gone beyond the police force mentality. To this end, the mindset, attitude, and behaviour of the police should change.

There is a serious concern from the local police station side that there is currently no right coordinator for the CPF. As a consequence, any CPF-related work or tasks are not given the attention and the priority they deserve. CPF work should be done by someone who is willing to work for the community so that he/she will prioritise it. Police officials should be encouraged to attend workshops related to CPF activities so that they will understand how to work with the community. In view of the fact the police officials are perceived to be reluctant to do CPF-related work, police officials who perform CPF tasks should be identified by the management, and the management should be able to keep them on their toes to ensure that they do what is expected of them. The police officials should not befriend suspected criminals, the police station should choose dedicated coordinators, and they should not serve as volunteers but should be appointed. After being formally appointed, they should only deal with CPF-related work. Staffing should be the responsibility of the management. More resources (both personnel and equipment) for the police officials are needed. In the meantime, the available limited resources should be used sparingly, effectively, and efficiently.

9.6.4 Recommendations for the local community

Needless to say, most traditional leaders recommended that the community should find a way to humble itself and treat one another with discipline and respect, and begin to listen to one another. To achieve this, it is recommended that the community should communicate constantly with all leadership structures in regular meetings in order to get to know one another and talk about challenges that may occur so that they do not only meet when there is a problem. This could also have the potential to stop pompous or pontifical behaviour among the parents and in the process revitalise or reawaken the informal social controls.

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9.7 FUTURE RESEARCH PROSPECTS

It is essential to emphasise that the focus of this study was on a rural area where service delivery and resource allocation are conceivably a challenge. Three sub-sections (Denge, Sikhelekehleni, and Mngcweni) of the community indicated that they used other police stations (not the local police station) partly due to proximity. In these sub-sections (especially Denge), it emerged that, despite the shortage of resources, the police and the CPF worked well with the community. The partnerships were relatively strong among all the stakeholders. As a result, it would be advisable for future studies to undertake a comparative analysis of an urban and a rural area because the realities on the ground and the enabling environments are not the same. This is particularly salient since most participants indicated that in urban areas there were more resources, and the business community in particular (in Camperdown) was more involved in terms of working with the police, the CPF, and the community. Through a comparative analysis, a much bigger sample involving experts in the field and participants from the local, provincial, and national government level could add more value (or a more balanced view) in terms of holistically examining the challenges that are experienced by one local police station. The framework proposed in this study is also undergirded by context-specific factors or realities – it could (or could not) be applicable to other totally different environments. A mixed-methods study (preferably a longitudinal one) could therefore be salient in terms of carefully tracking the patterns and trends in factors that influence the relationships or partnerships between the police, the CPF, and communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire

You are kindly requested to answer the following questions based on your perceptions, views, feelings, and experiences. Answering the following questions will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes of your time.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FRIENDS, NEIGHBOURS, AND RELATIVES

Imagine there was a situation beyond your control (i.e. a house is burning down), is there a friend whom you can call to come and help you out?

Yes	No	Not sure

Pretend there was a house burning down, is there a neighbour whom you can call to come and help you out?

Yes	No	Not sure

Using the same situation (a house burning down), is there a relative whom you can call to come and help you out?

Yes	No	Not sure

Suppose your mother is terribly ill and you do not have transport, would you go out to a neighbour, friend, or relative to ask for transport to the hospital?

Yes	No	Not sure

Among them, who is most probably going to give you transport to the hospital?

Neighbour	Friend	Relative

Generally speaking, in the last two to five years, have you (or anyone living with you) offered any form of support to your friend, neighbour, or relative?

Yes	No	Not sure

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Apart from the support from these people, is there any other source of assistance (formal or informal) to which you could resort for help?

Yes	No	Not sure

Is this source of assistance most likely to be found in this community or outside?

Yes	No	Not sure

Suppose you run out of small things (sugar or salt), would you confidently approach your neighbour, friend, or relative for assistance in that regard?

Yes	No	Not sure

Suppose you are bedridden, would you like your neighbour, friend, or relative to pay you a visit?

Yes	No	Not sure

FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION AND INTERACTION WITH NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS

In the last few days or weeks, have any of your neighbours visited you?

Yes	No	Not sure

In the last few days or weeks, have any of your friends visited you?

Yes	No	Not sure

In the last few days or weeks, have you visited your friends or neighbours?

Yes	No	Not sure

In the last few days or weeks, have you and your friends been to any public space (community meetings, rituals, parties, clubs, restaurants, etc.)?

Yes	No	Not sure

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Have you or any of your friends and neighbours organised any major event in this community?

Yes	No	Not sure

Have you or any of your friends or neighbours been to any community policing forums (CPF) meetings?

Yes	No	Not sure

Have you or any of your friends or neighbours been to any street community meetings?

Yes	No	Not sure

Have you or any of your friends or neighbours been to any ward committee meetings?

Yes	No	Not sure

TRUST, SOLIDARITY, AND RECIPROCITY

In the last few days or weeks, have you (or your neighbours) assisted a family that had no food?

Yes	No	Not sure

Suppose you are going to a job interview and you have to leave your child behind, would you take your child to your neighbour and ask him/her to look after the child while you are gone?

Yes	No	Not sure

If your neighbour asks you to look after their child, would you gladly assist them without expecting anything in return?

Yes	No	Not sure

In general, do people in this community bother to do voluntary work without getting paid?

Yes	No	Not sure

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Imagine that a member of this community who is not your friend/relative dies in Cape Town and the body needs to be repatriated back to this community and the family of the deceased cannot afford the repatriation fees, would you contribute in this situation?

Yes	No	Not sure

The same situation happens again with another person who is a stranger, would you wholeheartedly offer the same support in repatriating the body of this person?

Yes	No	Not sure

Imagine a member of this community dies, do people normally go to the family of the deceased to find out what happened?

Yes	No	Not sure

INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

Police officials are doing a good job in this place.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Police officials are working with the community.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Police officials are visible.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
When we report criminal activities, police officials take a long to come or sometimes they do not come at all.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The community is losing confidence in police officials' abilities.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The police station often conducts public satisfaction surveys in order to improve performance.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
When I get to the police station, the community service offered is always superb.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Police officials are failing to prevent crime.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I must report criminal activities to the police.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I trust that the police officers will apprehend the offenders.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am convinced that offenders will be punished for their offences.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

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INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY POLICING FORUMS (CPFs)

CPF members are doing a good job in this place.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
CPF members are working with the community.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
CPF members are visible.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
When we report criminal activities, CPF members take a long to come or sometimes they do not come at all.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The community is losing confidence in the CPF members' abilities.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The CPF members often conduct public satisfaction surveys in order to improve performance.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
When I speak to the CPF members, they are always willing to help.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
CPF members are failing to prevent crime.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I must report criminal activities to the police officials instead of working with CPF members.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I trust that the CPF members will assist the police officials in apprehending offenders.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am convinced that when I work with CPF members, the offenders will be punished for their offences.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

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Appendix B: Focus Group Interview with Police Officials

You are all kindly requested to take part in this study by answering the following questions based on your perceptions, feelings, views, and experiences.

Answering the following questions will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes of your time.

How are the relations between the community and the police in this community?

According to the knowledge of this group, what is the level of cooperation between the police and community here?

Name any situation where police officials have worked hand in hand with the community?

What is the level of crime in this community?

What are the contributing factors to crime in this area?

According to the knowledge of this group, what needs to be done in this community to prevent and reduce crime?

Are there any proactive measures in place to remedy the crime situation?

Are there any corrective measures in place to remedy the crime situation?

What is your view with regard to the community's level of commitment in responding to crime?

How does the community report a matter(s) to the police?

What are the successes and failures that can be attributed to collaboration between the police and the community when responding to crime?

What are the challenges facing police officials when working with the community?

How do the police officials overcome those challenges?

What mechanisms are in place to ensure the safety of the police officials?

Are there any measures in place to ensure the safety of whistle-blowers?

What is the level of conviction of offenders?

What are the reactions of the community when offenders are released on bail?

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Appendix C: Focus Group Interview with CPFs

You are all kindly requested to take part in this study by answering the following questions based on your perceptions, feelings, views, and experiences.

Answering the following questions will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes of your time.

How is the CPF formed?

How is one recruited to become a member?

What is the purpose of the CPF?

What are the functions of the CPF?

How does this CPF perform its functions?

Are there any models/approaches/modalities that prescribe how members must carry out their functions?

Are there any proactive mechanisms to solve crime?

Are there any reactive mechanisms to solve crime?

Are there any guidelines/rules that prescribe the conduct of the members when they are participating in CPF activities?

How does this conduct differ from other organisations found in this community?

Who are the collaborators/stakeholders involved in CPF?

How would you describe the above relationship?

What are the successes of this CPF?

What are the challenges facing this CPF?

How does this CPF overcome its challenges?

What are the impediments involved in working with communities?

Looking ahead, what are suggestions or recommendations that can be considered in enhancing the role of the CPF in this community?

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Appendix D: Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews with Community Leaders

You are all kindly requested to take part in this study by answering the following questions based on your perceptions, feelings, views, and experiences.

Answering the following questions will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes of your time.

LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES

According to your understanding, at what level would you put the issue of crime confronting this community?

What is your overall view of the performance of leadership structures (traditional, cultural, political, and otherwise) in terms of responding to crime?

What is the role of traditional leadership in preventing and reducing crime?

What is the role of the ward councillor in preventing and reducing crime?

What is your take with regard to the effectiveness of these structures in ensuring transparent and accountable governance?

According to your point of view, which leadership structure is dominant in resolving crime in this place? Why?

What are the challenges facing the leadership structures in this community in terms of preventing and reducing crime?

What are the adverse effects attributed to these challenges?

What measures can be put in place to remedy the challenges encountered when preventing and reducing crime?

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

What are the institutions that are currently working with this community in preventing and reducing crime?

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How often is crime discussed in community meetings? How are community meetings organised? What is the role of police officers in a community meeting?

What are the specific scenarios where police officials have worked hand in hand with the inhabitants of this community to curb crime?

What is your view with regard to the police's ability to curb crime in this area? Would you safely say that this community is safe because of their presence?

Out of 10, what would you give the community in terms of their performance in curbing criminal activities in this place?

Is there a particular scenario that you can share where the community performed their duties satisfactorily or non-satisfactorily?

What are CPF members doing in this community?

Do you know how the CPF is formed?

Do you know the criteria that are followed in recruiting CPF members?

What are the specific scenarios where CPF members have worked hand in hand with the inhabitants of this community in curbing crime?

Are there any collaborative efforts or projects where CPF members are working with members of this community?

What is your view with regard to the CPF's ability to curb crime in this area? Would you safely say that this community is safe because of their presence?

How often do you meet with CPF members?

Do you know a neighbour, friend, or relative who is a CPF member?

Out of 10, what would you give the community in terms of their performance in curbing criminal activities in this place?

Is there a particular scenario which you can share where the community performed their duties satisfactorily or non-satisfactorily?

To your knowledge, what other institutions (apart from the police) have worked with this community before or are working with this community?

What is your view with regard to their ability to deal with crime?

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Appendix E: Ethical Clearance Form

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jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Mr Mbekezeli Comfort Mkhize, from the Centre for Military Studies (CEMIS), Faculty of Military Science, at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because you possess expert subject knowledge about the relationships between police and communities in your area.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to establish whether social capital (types of networks, partnerships, cooperative/collaborative relationships, interactions, and social cohesion that exist in communities) can be used as a trust-building model (restoring and building trust) between police and communities in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. The study builds on the dimensions of social capital such as trust, reciprocity, respect, solidarity, relationships, and social networks in order to see how these can be used to build relations between the police and communities. The study focuses specifically on Community Policing Forums (CPFs) and police officials, although not limited to these, and their relationships with the community in trying to prevent and combat crime in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to respond to three research instruments that will be used to collect primary data, namely a structured questionnaire, semi-structured focus group interview schedule, and an in-depth interview schedule/outline. If you agree to take part, the structured questionnaire will be handed out to you and will be picked up in the second visit, preferably once you

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had enough time to complete it. Firstly, you are asked to complete the questionnaire based on your perceptions, views, feelings, and experiences. Instructions on how to complete the questionnaire appear on each and every copy of the structured questionnaire. After the questionnaires have been completed, I will collect all of them myself at a later stage or immediately if you are able to complete early. You are asked to point out if you have questions regarding the structured questionnaire. Completing the questionnaire will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes. Secondly, you are asked to respond to the in-depth (individual) interview. The in-depth (individual) interview is going to take 30 to 45 minutes. In an individual interview, you are basically asked to respond individually to the questions set out in the interview outline. In this case, as a community leader (traditional, political, cultural founder/s, and/or leaders of various organisations found in the community), you are asked to respond. You are asked to respond verbally to the interview questions. You are not going to write down the answers in this case, but will only respond to questions verbally. Thirdly, you are asked to respond to an interview schedule strictly tailor-made for focus group discussions. Focus group interviews are going to take 30 to 45 minutes. In a focus group discussion, you are asked to respond collectively to the questions set out in the interview outline.

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Given the fact that data will be collected in a big community, conducting interviews and administering questionnaires will be done to the participants' closest places so that they do not incur any cost or suffer any inconvenience. The interviews will be conducted in places where the participants live, and I will make sure that there are no disruptions or disturbances. Interviews will be conducted in a safe place; preferably a place that is convenient for the participants and at a time that is convenient for them. Indeed, there might be minimal risk because some participants may not feel comfortable as I will be using an audio recorder to ensure that data collection is valid and complete. However, the value of using audio recorder and how the data will be stored will be explained entirely to the participants, and the participants will be given an opportunity to ask questions. For example, once the interview has been completed, the audio clips will be uploaded to the computer whose password is known only by the researcher. The computer will be kept in a safe place. The transcription of the audio clips will be done by me. The recordings will be erased after a period of five years has lapsed and will not be shared with anyone. The recordings will also be stored securely

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on a USB or memory stick device used by me as a backup system to ensure that the data are not accidently lost. Again, these devices will be kept in a safe place to which only the researcher has the key. The dissemination of the results will be in the form of a completed doctoral thesis. The participants will be allowed to view the completed report. Despite this, I still feel that there might be minimal risk because participants will have to cancel their daily activities to accommodate me. To remedy this minimal risk, I will interview at times that suit them, even on weekends, especially those who are working. Some of the participants will not want to be interviewed openly in front of everyone and will be well taken care of. Instead of using focus group interviews, I will interview them separately in a secluded space of their choice or at their homes. If this is not satisfactory to them, especially when they do not want to be seen with me, I will ask other community members whom they feel comfortable with to hand out the questionnaire or interview outline on my behalf.

As a result, the following measures will be taken to ensure that there is minimal risk on the side of participants. Since some of the questions may trigger emotions or negative experiences the participants may have had, I have already contacted and spoken to support services such as the counselling services that are available in the community. Support services include referring them to social workers and psychologists located in a centralised area in a community. From the side of the police officials, I have already contacted the station commander (Lt Col Msimang on 082 418 5715), and a senior police officer (Captain Sibiya on 079 500 0634) and have enquired about professional help available to police officials, and how Captain Sibiya can assist me in this regard. I have already spoken to the traditional leader (Chief Ngaye Mlaba on 076 456 4851). For members of the community in general, I have already spoken to Nqi Mkhize (073 254 7227) to advise me on available victim empowerment services such as youth support groups, women's forums, men's forums, and different structures available in the community. I have contacted and agreed with the ward councillor (Bongumusa Mkhize on 078 121 5642) to conduct interviews in his area.

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4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

You are not going to benefit directly from the study. However, you may benefit indirectly from the study. This can be possible, especially when the research results influence policy decisions and interventions in the community. In this way, you can benefit indirectly because you form part of the community.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

You are not going to receive any form of payment as part of persuading you to participate in the study. You will not incur any costs because the interviews will be conducted in a place that is close to where you live and that is convenient for you. In case the interview session takes longer, I can provide light refreshments. The refreshments will not, in any way, persuade you or influence you in a certain direction in terms of how you answer the questions. You are allowed to withdraw at any time when you do not feel comfortable with continuing with the interview or if you are tired or hungry.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY, AND IDENTITY

Any information that you share with me during this study that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. This will be done by ensuring that your identity will not be revealed at all in the study. Disguised names or pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity. The collected data will only will be shared with my supervisor (Lt Col (Dr) Willem Erasmus). The data collected through administering questionnaires will be securely stored in a safe place to which only the researcher has access. Audio-recorded data will be securely stored on a computer and nobody else except the researcher knows the password. Audio clips will be stored on USB or memory stick devices to ensure that the data are not accidentally lost. The data will be shredded or erased from the computer or USB (or memory stick) devices once the period of five years has lapsed. The information gathered will be used to write a doctoral thesis. No names of organisations or participants will be included and revealed in the final report. A camera will be used to take photos as part of data collection. However, all the photographed material will be securely taken from the camera and uploaded and stored on a computer or USB (or memory stick) device.

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7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be part of this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher will withdraw you if you want to withdraw at any stage, and there will be no adverse consequences. This means that you are not even obliged to answer all the questions. You will be free to discontinue with the interviews if there would be tensions after the interview has been completed. The interview will be stopped if there are undue influences that are interfering with the interview process. If the participant withdraws during the interview, I will ask for permission to use his/her collected data. If a participant withdraws without having given permission for the data to be used, I will not use the data.

8. RESEARCHER'S CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Mbekezeli Mkhize on work mobile number 082 7528 562 or personal mobile number 082 7528 562, and/or the supervisor, Lt Col (Dr) Willem Erasmus at 022 702 3116.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché (mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622) at the Division for Research Development.

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DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I _____ (name of participant) agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Mbekezeli Mkhize.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

	The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent.
	The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this “Consent Form” is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.

_____ _____

Signature of Principal Investigator **Date**

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Appendix F: Informed Consent

Name: Mbekezeli Comfort Mkhize

Institution: Stellenbosch University

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Public and Development Management (Mil.)

Project Title: **The role of social capital as a trust-building model between police and communities in the Ethekwini Metropolitan Municipality, South Africa**

Supervisor: Dr Willem Erasmus & Dr Ishmael Theletsane (Co-supervisor)

Supervisor's Contact details are: Telephone Number: 022 702 3116

I undertake this research project as part of the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public and Development Management (Mil.) at the University of Stellenbosch. The research project will be explained verbally and in writing in the language that participants understand better. Potential subjects will be given time to read, understand and question the information given before giving consent in writing. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Participants will be allowed to withdraw at any stage if they so wish. The study does not involve any harm, costs and benefits. The study is not likely to injure the participants. There will be no costs that will be incurred by participants. There will be no benefits that will accrue to the participants.

The anonymity of the participants will be guaranteed and protected through the use of pseudonyms or disguised names. The real names of participants (personal information) will not be revealed. The permission will be secured from study participants before the interviews are audio recorded. Confidentiality is also going to be protected because the identity of the participants will not be revealed to anybody. The data collected will be kept confidential in a securely locked room where only researcher has access, and the password used in storing data in the computer will not be shared with anyone. The important information regarding the findings of the research will only be shared with key informants. The data collected will be used solely for achieving the objectives of the study. The data will be kept in a safe place, and will only be shredded once the period of five years has lapsed. The collected data will be integrated and organised in the form of finished doctoral thesis.

Declaration

I …… (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

Signature of the participant	Date
……	……

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Appendix G: Notice of Approval

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NOTICE OF APPROVAL

REC Humanities New Application Form

27 September 2018

Project number: 6805

Project Title: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AS A TRUST-BUILDING MODEL BETWEEN POLICE AND COMMUNITIES IN THE ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY, SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Mr. Mbekezeli Mkhize

Your REC Humanities New Application Form submitted on 28 August 2018 was reviewed and approved by the REC: Humanities.

Please note the following for your approved submission:

Ethics approval period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
27 September 2018	26 September 2019

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Please take note of the General Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

If the researcher deviates in any way from the proposal approved by the REC: Humanities, the researcher must notify the REC of these changes.

Please use your SU project number (6805) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your project.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

FOR CONTINUATION OF PROJECTS AFTER REC APPROVAL PERIOD

Please note that a progress report should be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee: Humanities before the approval period has expired if a continuation of ethics approval is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary)

Included Documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Request for permission	clearance letter scanned copy	05/04/2018	
Informed Consent Form	Zulu version of Ethics Clearance 25 May 2018	25/05/2018	
Default	Permission Letter from Ward Councillor	25/05/2018	
Default	DESC reviewer report Mkhize (3)	25/05/2018	
Research Protocol/Proposal	FINAL DOCTORAL RESEARCH PROPOSAL 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018	
Informed Consent Form	Ethical clearance consent form 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018	
Data collection tool	Research Instruments Questionnaire with Community Members 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018	
Data collection tool	Semi-structured in-depth interviews with community members 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018	

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Data collection tool	Research Instruments Focus Group Interview with Police Officials 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018
Data collection tool	Research Instruments Focus Group Interview with CPF members 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018
Data collection tool	FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS WITH VARIOUS COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANISATIONS 20 Aug 2018	28/08/2018
Default	CORRECTIONS TO THE ETHICS COMMITTEE 20 AUGUST 2018	28/08/2018
Default	LIST OF MODIFIED RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS 20 AUG 2018	28/08/2018

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at cgraham@sun.ac.za.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.
The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this co
by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethic
Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015. Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

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Appendix H: Permission Letter to Conduct Interviews with SAPS Members

South African Police Service — Suid-Afrikaanse Polisiedienste

Privaatsak Private Bag X94	Pretoria 0001	Faks No. Fax No.	(012) 334 3518

Your reference/U verwysing:

My reference/My verwysing: **3/34/2**

THE HEAD: RESEARCH
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
PRETORIA
0001

Enquiries/Navrae: **Lt Col Joubert**
AC Thenga
Tel: **(012) 393 3118**
Email: **JoubertG@saps.gov.za**

Mr MC Mkhize
STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SAPS: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AS A TRUST-BUILDING MODEL BETWEEN POLICE AND COMMUNITIES IN THE ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY, SOUTH AFRICA: STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY, SALDANHA BAY CAMPUS: DOCTORATE DEGREE: RESEARCHER: MC MKHIZE

The above subject matter refers.

You are hereby granted approval for your research study on the above mentioned topic in terms of National Instruction 1 of 2006.

Further arrangements regarding the research study may be made with the following office:

The Provincial Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal:

- **Contact Person:** Col AD van der Linde
- **Contact Details:** (031) 325 4841
- **Email Address:** vanderLinde@saps.gov.za

The Provincial Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal has stressed that the following condition should also be adhered to by the researcher.

- To hold a focus group discussion that will not be longer than forty five (45) minutes with eight (8) members including the Station Commander at SAPS Umsunduzi

Kindly adhere to paragraph 6 of our attached letter signed on the **2019-03-08** with the same above reference number.

MAJOR GENERAL
THE HEAD: RESEARCH
DR PR VUMA

DATE: 2019 -03- 2 7

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SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

Privaatsak/Private Bag X 94

Verwysing/Reference:	3/34/2
Navrae/Enquiries:	Lt Col Joubert AC Thenga
Telefoon/Telephone:	(012) 393 3118

THE HEAD: RESEARCH
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
PRETORIA
0001

The Provincial Commissioner
KWAZULU-NATAL

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN SAPS: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AS A TRUST-BUILDING MODEL BETWEEN POLICE AND COMMUNITIES IN THE ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY, SOUTH AFRICA: STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY, SALDANHA BAY CAMPUS: DOCTORATE DEGREE: RESEARCHER: MC MKHIZE

1. The above subject matter refers.

2. The researcher, Mr MC Mkhize, is conducting a study with the aim ***to analyse the role of social capital as a trust-building model between the police and communities.***

3. The researcher is requesting permission to hold a focus group discussions with eight (8) members including the Station Commander at Umsunduzi Police Station in KwaXimba, Cato Ridge.

4. The proposal was perused according to National Instruction 1 of 2006. This office recommends that permission be granted for the research study, subject to the final approval and further arrangements by the office of the Provincial Commissioner: KwaZulu-Natal.

5. We hereby request the final approval by your office if you concur with our recommendation. Your office is also at liberty to set terms and conditions to the researcher to ensure that compliance standards are adhered to during the research process and that research has impact to the organisation.

6. If approval granted by your office, this office will obtain a signed undertaking from researcher prior to the commencement of the research which will include your terms and conditions if there are any and the following:

6.1. The research will be conducted at his/her exclusive cost.

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IN THE ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY, SOUTH AFRICA: STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY, SALDANHA BAY CAMPUS: DOCTORATE DEGREE: RESEARCHER: MC MKHIZE

6.2 The researcher will conduct the research without the disruption of the duties of members of the Service and where it is necessary for the research goals, research procedures or research instruments to disrupt the duties of a member, prior arrangements must be made with the commander of such member.

6.3 The researcher should bear in mind that participation in the interviews must be on a voluntary basis.

6.4 The information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential.

6.5 The researcher will provide an annotated copy of the research work to the Service.

6.6 The researcher will ensure that research report / publication complies with all conditions for the approval of research.

7. If approval granted by your office, for smooth coordination of research process between your office and the researcher, the following information is kindly requested to be forwarded to our office:

- **Contact person**: Rank, Initials and Surname.
- **Contact details**: Office telephone number and email address.

8. A copy of the approval (if granted) and signed undertaking as per paragraph 6 supra to be provided to this office within 21 days after receipt of this letter.

9. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za

Appendix I: Researcher's Undertaking to Interview SAPS Members

UNDERTAKING

I, MBEKEZELI COMFORT MKHIZE (Name and surname)
Hereby indemnify the South African Police Service (SAPS) against any claims for any loss or damage caused by or to any equipment used during the research and against any claims for any loss or damage or any other moneys for which the Service may be held liable as a consequence of its involvement in the project.

I further undertake to conduct the research without any unreasonable disruption to the duties of the members of the Service, where it is necessary for the research *goals, research procedure or research instruments* to disrupt the duties of a members, prior arrangements must be made in good time with the commander of such employee;

I undertake–

- not to divulge information received from any employee of the SAPS or any person with whom I conducted an interview, and that the information will at all times be treated as strictly confidential;
- that the research will be performed at my exclusive cost, that I will provide all equipment of whatsoever nature used to conduct the research;
- will pay fees or comply with further procedures in the SAPS, such as fees or procedures applicable to obtain access to a record of the SAPS; and
- to donate an annotated copy of the research work to the SAPS.

Signed: _____ Date: 01 April 2019

Place: KwaXimba, Cato Ridge

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Appendix J: Permission Letter from the Ward Councillor

ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

Councill

Mezzanine Floor Shell Ho
Cnr. Anton Lembede & Samora Michell Street, Durban, 4C
P O Box 1014, Durban, 4C
Tel: 031 322 7030, Fax: 031 311 38
www.durban.gov

Our Ref: Cllr BA Mkhize

Enquiries: 078 1215642

To whom it may concern

We have received a request from Mbekezeli MKhize to conduct interviews in our area as part of his Doctoral Studies (PhD Degree from University of Stellenbosch).

In this Letter he clearly explained the purpose and the significance of the study .After deliberating fiercely on the content of his letter, we agreed unanimously that his study is highly desirable, and will add value to the community .We would therefore like to grant a permission to collect data in our area.

Councillor Bongumusa Anthony Mkhize

COMMISSIONER OF OATHS
ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY
EX OFFICIO DISTRICT OF DURBAN IN
TERMS OF SECTION 6 OF ACT 16 OF 1963
AMENDED) CITY HALL SECRETARIAT
Serna Street, Durban, 4001